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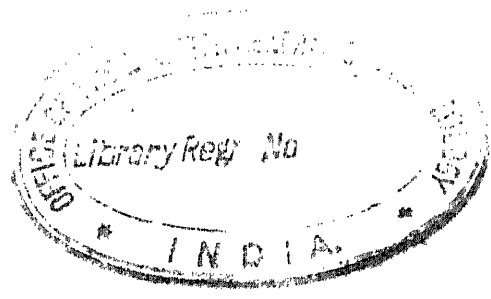
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OF THE  
SIAM SOCIETY.

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VOLUME II.

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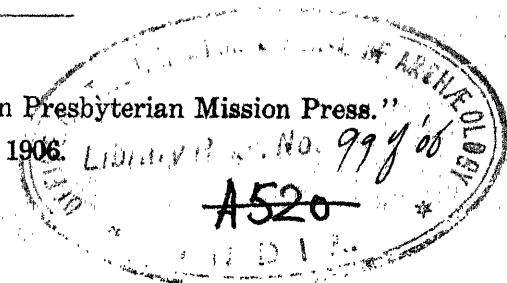
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# THE SIAM SOCIETY.

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( FOUNDED 1904 )

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*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in relation to Siam and neighbouring Countries.*

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SIAM.

VICE-PATRON :

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE DAMRONG RAJANUBHAB,—  
*Minister of the Interior.*

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## NOTICE.

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THE plates accompanying the paper of DR. BRENGUES and that of MR. BOURKE will be issued together with Vol. III.

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Commencing with the third volume, the Journal will be issued in parts, each containing the papers read at a meeting or contributed and accepted for publication.

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It is requested that acknowledgment of receipt be sent to the address of THE SIAM SOCIETY, to which also gifts for the Library sent in exchange should be addressed.



# RULES

## OF THE

### Siam Society.

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#### I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be The Siam Society.
2. The objects of the Society shall be the investigation and encouragement of Art, Science and Literature in relation to Siam and neighbouring countries.
  - a. For this purpose the Society will convene meetings, at which papers bearing on the objects for which the Society is formed will be read, or lectures given.
  - b. Such papers shall, if they are accepted by the Council be published in a Journal, and the authors of them may, by permission of the Council, republish them in a separate form.
  - c. A further purpose shall be the formation of a Library of books and manuscripts bearing on the objects of the Society, and of an Ethnological Museum.

#### II. Membership.

3. Members shall be classed as Ordinary, Honorary, and Corresponding Members. Both ladies and gentlemen shall be eligible as members of the Society.
4. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of Ticals 20, payable in advance on the 1st January of each year. Members shall be allowed to compound for life membership of the Society on payment of Ticals 240.
5. Honorary Members shall pay no subscription, and the Council shall have power to reduce or remit subscriptions in special cases.
6. On or about the 30th June of every year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare a list of those Members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid, and such persons shall be deemed to have resigned their Memberahip. But the operation of this rule, in any particular case, may be suspended by a vote of the Council of the Society. No member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publication of the Society until his subscription for the current year has been paid.

7. Candidates for admission as Members shall be proposed by one and seconded by another member of the Society, and if agreed to by a majority of the Council shall be deemed to be duly elected.

8. Honorary and Corresponding Members must be proposed for election by the Council at a general meeting of the Society.

### III. Officers.

9. The Officers of the Society shall be :

A President

Three Vice-Presidents.

An Honorary Secretary and Librarian.

An Honorary Assistant Secretary.

An Honorary Treasurer.

Six Councilors, the number of whom may be increased.

These Officers shall hold office until their successors are chosen.

10. Vacancies in the above offices shall be filled for the current year by a vote of the remaining Officers.

### IV. Council.

11. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the Officers for the current year, and its duties shall be :—

a. To administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

b. To elect ordinary members, and to recommend Honorary and Corresponding members for election by the society.

c. To decide on the eligibility of papers to be read before general meetings.

d. To select papers for publication in the Journal.

e. To select and purchase books and manuscripts for the Library, and any other objects for the Museum.

f. To present to the Annual Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a Report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

12. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a month, or oftener if necessary. At Council meetings five Officers shall constitute a quorum.

13. The Council shall have authority, subject to confirmation by a general meeting, to make and enforce such bye-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the Society's affairs as may, from time to time, be expedient.

## V. Meetings.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in January of each year.

15. General Meetings shall be held, when practicable, once in every month, and oftener if expedient, at such hour as the Council may appoint.

16. At Ordinary General Meetings of the Society eleven, and at the Annual General Meeting fifteen, members shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

17. At all Meetings, the Chairman shall, in case of an equality of votes, be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

18. At the Annual General Meeting, the Council shall present a Report for the preceding year, and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

19. The work of ordinary General Meetings shall be the transaction of routine business, the reading of papers approved of by the Council, and the discussion of topics connected with the general objects of the Society.

20. Notice of the subjects intended to be introduced for discussion by any member of the Society should be handed in to the Secretary before the Meeting.

Visitors may be admitted to the Meetings of the Society, but no one who is not a member shall be allowed to address the meeting, except by invitation or permission of the Chairman.

## VI. Publications of the Society.

21. A Journal shall be published, when practicable, every six months. Four of the Officers, appointed by the Council, shall form the committee of publication, charged with the editing of the Journal and the preparing of papers for publication in the same. One of the members of such Committee shall be appointed presiding officer.

The Journal shall comprise a selection of the papers read before the Society, the Report of the Council and Treasurer, and such other matter as the Council may deem it expedient to publish. Papers or communications presented to the council may be in any of the following languages, viz. English, French, German, or Siamese.

22. Every member of the Society shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal. The Council shall have power to present copies to other Societies and to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time, direct.

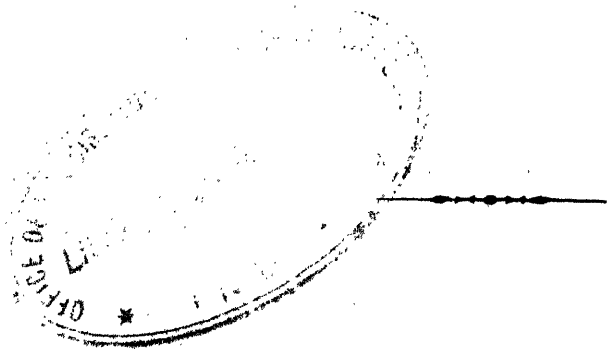


23 Twenty-four copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the Author.

24. The Council shall have power, with the consent of the Author, to sanction the publication, in a separate form, of papers or documents laid before the Society, which have not previously been published in the Journal, if in their opinion practicable and expedient.

#### VII. Amendments.

25. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall, after notice given, lay them before a General Meeting of the Society. A Committee of Resident Members shall thereupon be appointed, in conjunction with the Council, to report on the proposed Amendments to the General Meeting next ensuing when a decision may be taken, provided that any amendment to the Rules which is to be proposed by such Committee to the General Meeting shall be stated in the notice summoning the meeting.



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The Society does not admit any responsibility on its part  
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In transliteration each author has followed his own system.

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# A Propos des Origines et de l'Histoire Ancienne du Siam.

par P. PETITHUGUENIN.

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Je n'ai pas la prétention d'apporter ici des idées personnelles sur les origines et l'histoire ancienne d'un pays que j'étudie depuis trop peu de temps alors que des personnes infiniment plus renseignées que moi n'ont pas encore complètement exprimé leurs opinions.

Je voudrais simplement exposer les conclusions auxquelles est parvenu, à propos de l'ancien Siam, dans ses derniers ouvrages sur le Cambodge, un savant français éminent en la matière, M. Etienne Aymonier.

L'ouvrage auquel j'emprunte le sujet de cette lecture a paru à la fin de l'an dernier, sous le titre : *Le Cambodge Volume III. Le groupe d'Angkor et l'Histoire.*"

L'auteur y étudie spécialement l'histoire et l'archéologie cambodgienne mais il est amené, par suite de la pénétration réciproque des deux peuples, à consacrer un chapitre spécial au Siam ancien, et à faire, dans les chapitres historiques, une large place aux Siamois.

J'ai crû pouvoir répartir en trois groupes les idées et les théories de M. Aymonier et c'est dans l'ordre suivant que je me permettrai de les exposer :

10. La préhistoire.
  20. Les sources de l'histoire Siamoise.
  30. Le cadre de l'histoire du Siam des temps légendaires à la fondation d'Ayuthia.
- 

## 10. La Préhistoire.

De l'époque préhistorique on connaît peu de choses.

L'étude de la Géologie et de l'Ethonographie de l'Indo-Chine est de date encore trop récente pour nous donner des indications précises à cet égard.

On sait qu'à une époque ancienne, la mer pénétrait très avant dans les terres recouvrant les plaines basses du Cambodge et du Siam actuels.

Des races autochtones on peut se faire une idée approximative par les peuplades sauvages qui vivent retirées dans les montagnes et les forêts et dont quelques unes doivent en descendre ; mais on ne peut rien affirmer encore sur le type auquel elles se rattachent ni sur l'étendue de leur habitat.

A ces races sans doute appartiennent les Kariens qui résident actuellement dans les montagnes, entre le bassin du Ménam et le golfe du Bengale, les Souis qu' on retrouve au Laos et dans le bassin de la Moun et les Chongs dans les monts à l'ouest de Battambang qui paraissent descendre des Kmers primitifs.

Parmi les premières peuplades il en est trois qui se développent suffisamment pour former de puissants états et jouent un grand rôle dans le passé de l'Indo-Chine.

Ce sont :

10. Les Mons, Talaings ou Pégouans.
20. Les Kmers ou Cambodgiens.
30. Les Chams ou Ciampoïs.

D'après *Moura* et *G. R. Logan* dont les opinions ont été discutées récemment par *C. Otto Blagden* dans son " *Early Indo-Chinese influence on the Malay Peninsula.*" elles appartiendraient, au point de vue linguistique tout au moins, avec les Annamites dont la langue aurait été primitivement polysyllabique et parlée recto-tono, à une même famille que l'on désigne sous le nom de Mon-Annam.

Ces trois groupes (que l'on peut réduire à deux : Mon-Kmer et Cham) seraient descendus du Nord au Sud, probablement du Tibet, à une époque très reculée et auraient bifurqué pour peupler les deux péninsules que sépare le golfe du Bengale. Mais, tandis que les Mons auraient été arrêtés assez vite par les Dravidiens, les Kmers et les Chams auraient pu s'étendre.

Passant par dessus l'obscurité des époques trop lointaines nous rejoignons *M. Aymonier* au moment où les Chams refoulés vers l'est, les Kmers établis dans les vallées du Ménam auraient reçu les premiers civilisateurs indous.

Dès le VI<sup>e</sup>. siècle av. J. C., dit-il, il est à présumer que de nombreux groupes d'Indiens poussés d'abord par l'amour du gain et plus tard par le désir de propagande religieuse passaient à chaque instant la mer pour se fixer sur les côtes de l'Indo-Chine comme de l'insulinde.

L'un de leurs principaux foyers d'émigration aurait été les Sept Pagodes, près de Madras. Ils auraient dès cette époque commencé à fonder de petites colonies homogènes, conservant leurs mœurs et leur religion et les propageant peu à peu autour d'eux parmi les populations barbares.

Le Pégou dut être le premier influencé, les Chams le furent aussi, plus anciennement que les Kmers qui vivaient reculés dans l'intérieur du pays.

Les Chinois durent prendre également une part considérable à la civilisation et au métissage de ces races primitives, mais leur action fut à peu près nulle au point de vue religieux.

Il n'est pas inutile de mentionner enfin, pour confirmer la haute antiquité de l'indiennisation de l'Indo-Chine, que des villes à noms sanscrits et qui paraissent s'appliquer à cette région sont mentionnées dans Ptolémé au II<sup>e</sup>. siècle de notre ère, et que dans les tables de Peutinger le nom de Calippe pourrait être identifié avec Kouk Telok ancienne appellation de Pnom Penh.

Ceci, dit l'auteur, n'a rien d'impossible car dès cette époque les navigateurs romains poussaient leurs croisières jusqu' à la Chine.

A l'époque où les Kmers occupaient la basse et la moyenne vallée du Ménam, probablement une partie de la péninsule Malaise et l'ancien Champa jusqu' au Grand Lac, une autre race refoulée par les Chinois descendait du Yunnan et se répandait peu à peu en Indo-Chine.

Ce sont les ancêtres des Thaïs.

Je crois que tout le monde se rallie aujourd'hui à l'opinion de M. Aymonier en ce qui concerne l'origine des Thaïs. Il ne fait d'ailleurs qu'accepter celle de Francis Garnier, qui rattachait les Thaïs aux tribus appelées Pe-Yone par les Chinois, Ba Viet par les Annamites, qui ont occupé jusqu' au commencement de notre ère toute la partie de la Chine située au sud du Yangtsé Kiang.

Ces groupes occidentaux vaguement appelés plus



tard Ngai Lao, Nantchao, s'étendaient avant notre ère du Tonkin jusqu' à la Birmanie.

Au Yunnan ils formaient six chao ou clans ; le plus méridional le Nantchao, tchao du sud, était le plus puissant.

Une sorte de féodalité politique semble avoir été constamment le régime qui convint le mieux aux Thaïs. Leur, petites capitales séjour de nombreux chao ou seigneurs héréditaires était appelée Xieng dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Indo-Chine et Muang dans l'est et le sud.

Les émigrations Thaïs se répandirent en éventail sur l'Indo-Chine et la Chine Méridionale par les vallées des grands cours d'eau qui arrosent ces régions. Peu importantes à l'origine elles prirent de l'ampleur à mesure que la poussée chinoise s'accroissait davantage.

Une partie de la race Thaïs descendit donc sur le Menam. Cette branche, ancêtre des Siamois, d'abord établie dans la région de Lakhon Lampun, va entrer en contact avec les Cambodgiens qu' elle pénétrera peu à peu et dont elle secoua brusquement le joug avec Phrā : Ruang au XIII<sup>e</sup>. siècle.

Nous touchons à l'époque historique ou plus exactement à celle qui le deviendra un jour si l'on parvient à tirer des documents actuellement connus et d'autres à venir, les éléments d'une véritable histoire.

## 20. Les Sources.

Nous abordons la question des sources sur laquelle M. Aymonier apporte des idées nouvelles dont il tire des conséquences un tant soit peu révolutionnaires.

On sait qu' actuellement les documents dont on dispose sur l'étude du Siam ancien sont de trois ordres.

10. Les inscriptions.

20. Les annales.

30. Les relations chinoises.

On n'a pas découvert jusqu' à présent, d'inscription antérieure au XIII<sup>e</sup>. siècle.

Le Père Schmidt en a publiées et traduites un bon nombre dans le Siam ancien de Fourneraux et dans le 2<sup>e</sup>. volume de la mission Pavie.

La plus connue est la stelle de Rama Khamen ou Pra-Ruang.

Les inscriptions ne donnent d'ordinaire que des bribes d'histoires sans lien avec le passé, isolées de la vie des peuples voisins et entourées de récits merveilleux.

Les annales primitives comme vous le savez ont été détruites après le siège d'Ayouthia et celle que nous possédons actuellement, ne sont qu'une compilation faite au début de la présente dynastie d'après les traditions orales et les annales des capitales de provinces.

Elles comprennent : 1o. Les " Pong Savadan Muang Nua" annales des pays du Nord, recueil Siamois en trois volumes qui prétend relater l'histoire du Siam à partir de 639.

Il ne contient guère que des fables invraisemblables et n'offre aucune valeur historique sérieuse.

2o. Les Pong Savadan Krung Kao. en 40 volumes qui partent de la fondation d'Ayouthia.

On avait jusqu'ici accordé un certain crédit au Pong Savadan Krung Kao. M. Aymonier en conteste absolument dans leur début surtout la valeur historique. " Tout n'est pas faux ou inventé, il est vrai, nous dit-il, ce sont pour ainsi dire des mosaïques brisées en mille morceaux et reconstituées sans intelligence, les pièces authentiques sont défigurées, mal placées et entremêlées de contes de veillée de famille."

3o. Il reste enfin à citer les annales de Martaban, dont les Siamois possèdent une traduction et qui sont peut-être plus exacts.

M. de Ronys dans son ouvrage " Les peuples orientaux connus des Chinois avaient relevé les contradictions flagrantes entre les annales Siamoises et les auteurs Chinois. M. Aymonier admet que ces discordances proviennent d'erreurs des annales Siamoises.

Les Chinois dit-il enregistrant sur le champ à leur manière, les événements dont le bruit se transmettait à leurs oreilles étaient généralement dans le vrai à la distance où ils se trouvaient placés, et il ne pouvait guère être question que des rois suprêmes du Siam.

Les récits des auteurs Chinois peuvent donc dans une

certaine mesure aider à rectifier la vérité et à compléter les notions données par les textes épigraphiques.

La plupart des documents Chinois actuellement connus sur les peuples de l'Indo-Chine et de la Malaisie sont rassemblés dans un grand ouvrage Chinois commencé au VIII<sup>e</sup>. siècle et continué par Ma Touan Lin lettré du XIII<sup>e</sup>. siècle qui le reprit et le continua jusqu'en 1224. Il renferme en outre la substance des connaissances des Chinois depuis les Empereurs Yao et Chun (2436 avant J. C.)

C'est principalement dans le "Méridionaux" que se trouvent les renseignements concernant les régions qui nous intéressent, mais les descriptions géographiques sont tellement vagues, les noms Chinois si défigurés que la première difficulté pour celui qui veut consulter ces ouvrages est d'identifier les noms Chinois. Non seulement les noms n'ont la plupart du temps aucun rapport avec les dénominations indigènes des contrées, mais ils disparaissent dans le cours d'un ouvrage, changent, reparaissent ensuite mais appliqués à d'autres pays, se confondent ou se déforment.

Les distances mêmes indiquées, les frontières décrites sont la plupart du temps invraisemblables.

Je n'entrerai pas ici dans le détail des savantes discussions auxquelles donnent lieu ces tentatives d'identifications, je me bornerai à esquisser la carte Chinoise, si j'ose dire, de l'Indo-Chine telle que parvient à la concevoir M. Aymonier.

Je m'empresse de dire que les conclusions de l'auteur n'ont pas le caractère d'exactitude auquel pourrait faire croire l'exposé abrégé que je crois faire et que souvent il n'émet que des hypothèses très discrètes.

Sur trois points cependant il est affirmatif.

1o. Le Lin Y correspond au Champa amoindri ramené sur le moyen et le bas Mekong.

2o. Le Fou nan ou Tchîn La ou Cambodge primitif antérieur à la conquête Siamoise.

Il s'étend des montagnes du Pégou au Lin Y. et comprend tout le moyen et bas Menam et les régions au Nord de la semoun.

3o. Le Kan To Li ou Tchîn Tou ou Siam ancien sur le haut Menam.

En dehors de ces grandes divisions M. Aymonier croit pouvoir identifier le Langyasieou et le Lotsa avec la côte du Founan du cap Liant au Cap St. Jacques.

Le Panpau, le Poli, et le Tchih tching avec divers états chames de la Cochinchine et des environs de Phom-penh.

Le Toum choun et Tienchoun avec le Tennasserim. Le Pokieu, Piao ou Poukau avec le Pègou le Péteou, avec une contrée au bord de la Salouèn Le tsanau avec Xiengmai et nan.

Ces identifications faites, Mr. Aymonier a confronté les inscriptions et les auteurs Chinois, il a cru pouvoir rectifier l'histoire du Siam et principalement la chronologie jusqu'ici admise.

Je passe à cette troisième et dernière partie de mon exposé.

## L'HISTOIRE

En 575, disent les annales, en tout cas avant le XIII<sup>e</sup>. siècle, fut fondée la ville de Labong actuellement Lakhonlampun. Elle a été identifiée par Mac-leod, Richardson et Francis Garnier avec l'Haripunyai des annales.

C'était un des principaux établissements des Thaïs; mais ils étaient déjà descendus, beaucoup plus au sud. Il y aurait eu, en effet, toujours d'après les annales, un royaume Siamois à Kanchanaboury (Kanbury) où régnait en 1210 Phya-Kong dont le fils après des aventures qui rappellent celles d'Oedipe aurait élevé au XII<sup>e</sup>. siècle le premier temple de Phra patom.

Les Siamois auraient d'ailleurs été dispersés un peu partout à cette époque dans la vallée du Menam jusqu'aux contreforts montagneux de l'Ouest et dans la péninsule Malaise jusqu'à Ligor; mais ils étaient soumis jusqu'au Nord de Louvo au roi Kmer d'Angor.

Louvo actuellement Lopburi, qui existait sans doute au XII<sup>e</sup>. siècle, était la capitale Kmer en pays Siamois. Le premier roi Siamois dont parlent les annales, Phra Tha Marat régnait à Labong et il semble qu'à cette époque, le milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup>. siècle d'après Aymonier, les luttes entre les Cambodgiens de Louvo et les Thaïs de Labong étaient très fréquentes.

La Birmanie (phoukam) était déjà puissante et un de ses rois fondait Rangoun.

Au XII. siècle également une autre nation Thaï fondait Xiengmai dont le roi aurait conquis Labong et agrandi le royaume.

Une stèle, relevée par M. Pavie à Xiengmai et traduite par le père Schmit, établit qu' en 1251 de notre ère, somdat, se tha Phra Rama Pavita Phra Maha, Dharmi Karadja Dhiradja était roi de Xiengmai.

Le début commence par ces mots : Glorieuses sont les actions de toutes les races de langue thaï.

M. Aymonier qui, d'ailleurs, avoue le peu de base de toute affirmation pour ces époques légendaires propose d'identifier ce roi avec le Phra Tharat des annales Siamoises et croit qu' il doit être confondu en une seule personne avec l'Adhayagamunui des mêmes annales et le roi Sry Indraditaya que mentionne les inscriptions ultérieures.

Ce roi aurait régné de 1250 à 1270, aurait fondé la ville de Savankalok ( Svarga deva loka la ville de l'assemblée des dieux) qui serait devenue la capitale des Thaïs réunis du Nord. A cette époque existait déjà la ville de Lakhon.

Il est bon de constater qu' il semble résulter des inscriptions qu' a cette époque le bouddhisme et la Bramanisme florissaient simultanément à Savankalok et que les rois Thaïs du Nord étaient vis à vis des rois Cambodgiens dans une certaine vassalité.

Sry Indrataya aurait eu pour successeurs son fils Ban qui est mentionné dans la stèle dite de Ramakamheng, dont je parlerai plus tard et qui est peut être identifiable au Phya Sri thama so karat des annales. On sait de lui qu' il épousa une bramane.

A Ban succéda enfin Phra Ruang, le libérateur du Siam a partir de qui l'histoire Siamoise commence à prendre consistance.

Phra-Ruang 'est le plus connu des anciens rois Siamois celui a qui est attribué l'invention de l'écriture Siamoise et l'établissement de la Chula-Sakarath que lui conteste d'ailleurs M. Aymonier.

Les annales ne sont pas très fixées sur la date de son règne. Elles le placent tantôt au septième tantôt au dixième tantôt au cinquième siècle.

D'après ces mêmes annales il serait né d'un roi de Nabong et de la reine de Naga. Celle-ci garda l'anneau du roi et lorsqu'un fils de celui-ci naquit elle l'exposa avec cet anneau. Un chasseur recueillit et éleva l'enfant qui entra un jour par aventure dans le palais paternel, l'adopta et lui donna le nom Daraounan Koumara (le royal enfant rouge). D'où le populaire fit Rom ou Phra Ruang.

Le plus important document sur ce roi est une stèle trouvée à Savankalok et traduite par le père Schmitt. Cette stèle paraît à M. Aymonier avoir été gravée vers 1292.

Pra, Ruang, donne lui-même les détails suivants sur son origine : Mon père se nommait S'ri Indra Sitya, ma mère Nang Suong, mes frères Bau ou Muang etc.

Il relate ensuite que, âgé à peine de 19 ans, il lutta sous les ordres de son père contre le Gouverneur d'une ville de Ohod qui semble avoir été du côté de Pégou, qu'il le mit en fuite et reçut le nom de Rama Kanhang, c'est à dire, Rama le redoutable.

Il ajoute que, après la mort de son père, il fut le fidèle sujet de son frère aîné Bau auquel il succéda. Il aurait donc été le troisième roi national des Siamois. Il naquit probablement entre 1240 et 1260 : Un passage des annales dit qu'il est né en l'année du Porc : Cette date correspondrait à 1251. Il monta sur le trône entre 1275 et 1280. Monté sur le trône Pra Ruang secoua le joug cambodgien. Les traditions des deux peuples sont unanimes sur ce point et un voyageur chinois de 1296 constate que le Cambodge avait été dévasté par une invasion de Siamois ; l'annonce seule de l'approche des Siamois remplissait la population de terreur.

L'effet est tellement rapide et tellement impressionnant qu'il faut admettre que non seulement Pra Ruang disposait d'une armée puissante, mais encore qu'il y eut, du Nord au Sud, un véritable soulèvement de tous les gens de race Thaï.

En dix ans Pra Ruang aurait complètement rejeté les Cambodgiens chez eux et les aurait contraint à demander la paix et à abandonner la ville Siamoise " les habitants du pays des Thaïs dit l'inscription de 1292 n'ont pas leurs pareils en intelligence, en ruse, en courage, en audace, en énergie, en forces.

“ Ils ont su vaincre la foule de leurs ennemis. Ils ont un grand royaume et beaucoup d'éléphants.

“ Ils ont soumis à l'Orient jusqu' au fleuve Klong (Mekong) au sud jusqu' à la mer Sri Dharmarajia, (Ligor) à l'occident Chod et Hang Savadi (Pegou), la mer fait frontière ; au Nord jusqu' au Muang Pré et Nan.

“ Après la conquête ils se sont livrés à l'agriculture ; tous observaient le Dharma.”

Il était suzerain de Battambang, il introduisit peut-être au Siam le Bouddhisme cyngalais, et développa l'industrie déjà florissante.

Les annales constatent qu'il fit de grandes constructions a Saxanalai, il y éleva des tentes, des palais, y construisit des jardins. Ici M. Aymonier, au contraire du père Schmitt et de Francis Garnier qui ont identifié Sokothai avec Savan-kalok, identifie Saxanalai avec Sokothai.

L'industrie de la poterie data de cette époque.

Le roi envoya deux fois des Ambassades en Chine (1297-1299). On prétend même qu'il épousa une fille de l'Empereur de Chine et que son fils Pra Suchak était fils de cette chinoise. Pour la première fois le nom des Siamois paraît dans les annales de Battambang, qui mettent sur le trône de ce pays un gendre de Pra Ruang : Phraya Ta Rua. A partir de cette époque, les rois du Pégou semblent avoir demandé l'investiture au roi des Siamois.

M. Aymonier croit que Pra Ruang mourut en 1324. à l'âge de 73 ans après cinquante ans de règne. Un passage des annales du Nord dit que sur la fin de ses jours Pra Ruang devint joueur et excentrique et qu'il n'y avait plus d'étiquette,

Phra Ya Suà Thai : 1324 à 1340.

Je passerai rapidement sur les deux successeurs immédiats de Pra Ruang sur lesquels, dit M. Aymonier, les documents sérieux font défaut.

L'auteur admet, se basant sur l'inscription de Nakhon Yum qu'au libérateur du Siam succéda Phraya Suà Thai qu'identifient avec Phuak Soucharat les annales du Nord. Il était, selon ces mêmes annales, petit-fils de l'empereur de Chine, ce qui est d'accord avec la légende qui fait épouser à Pra Ruang une chinoise.

Pendant son règne, qui aurait duré de 1324 à 1340, il aurait fait venir des ingénieurs de Chine et fait fortifier et armer la Capitale, cinq cités principales et huit cités secondaires. Les annales du Nord en contradiction avec les annales du Sud font remonter à ce roi l'introduction des armes à feu et de la poudre à canon.

Il aurait eu à lutter contre cinq rois Thai du Nord coalisés avec le roi de Tehieng Sieng et contre les Malais de la péninsule.

Il serait mort en combattant ces derniers. Phaya Tuathai régnait à Saxanalai, Soko Thai d'après M. Aymonier.

Phra-ya Hri Daya Raja : 1340-1357.

D'après une inscription Thai de Nokor Yum, il serait fils de Phraya-sua Thai.

M. Aymonier croit possible de l'identifier avec le Phrachao Sai nam ping des annales. On ne sait rien de son histoire.

Il régna à Saxanalai.

Sri Suriya Vans' a Rama. Maha Dharma Radjadhira : 1357-1388.

Son histoire nous est donnée par l'inscription Thai de Nokor Yum, une inscription Kmer de Sokotai et d'autres textes épigraphiques. Petit fils de Sua Thai et fils de Hridaya qu'il asservit en qualité de vice-roi, il monta sur le trône vers 1357.

Il semble s'être préoccupé surtout de mettre en relief dans les inscriptions ses prétentions de lettré et de sectateur fervent du Canon Méridional de Boudhiste.

Il s'occupa de la réforme du Calendrier, corrigea les erreurs qui s'étaient glissées dans l'ère. Peut-être est-ce lui et non Pra Ruang qui introduisit la Chula Sakarat.

Il régnait à Saxanalai-Sokotai. M. Aymonier croit pouvoir lui attribuer la fondation de Pitsa-nulok (Vischnu Loka.)

Il aurait envoyé à l'empereur Hung Wu, fondateur de la dynastie des Ming une ambassade en 1367.

En 1369, L'empereur de Chine envoya à son lointain tributaire quelques pièces de soie et une copie de l'almanach impérial de la Chine. En 1370 selon R. de Rosny,



Tai-tsou reçoit une ambassade du roi de Siam que les Chinois appellent Tsan lieck tchao Pya, désignation qu'on peut retrouver dans Samdach Chao Phya.

Nouvelles ambassades les années suivantes et en 1376, un sceau officiel fut envoyé à ce souverain de Sien-lo.

Il paraît même que, en 1387 à la veille de sa mort, le souverain Siamois a envoyé une trentaine d'éléphants en Chine. Il semble avoir combattu les Laotiens et les Cambodgiens. Il dut mourir en 1388 après un règne de 31 ans.

Mahadharajadhiraja : 1388-1415. M. Aymonier établit l'avènement de ce roi sur une inscription Thai actuellement au vat Boramanivet, mais qui provient de Sokotai. On ne sait rien de lui. Il régna à Saxanalai Sokotai.

Samtac Parama Rajadhiraja : 1415-1453. M. Aymonier transcrit ainsi : San lai Po lo mo da tah ti rai, nom donné à cette époque au souverain du Siam par les auteurs chinois.

On ne sait rien de lui sinon qu'il fut le dernier des rois ayant régné à Saxanalai-Sokotai.

Phra : Ramathibodi—Fondation d'Ayouthia 1453.

On trouve dans les auteurs Chinois que : "La quatrième année de l'ère King-tai 1453 l'empereur Kingli donna l'investiture au fils du roi Pa lo lan-mi-sank-lak et le reconnut comme souverain du Siam."

"La dixième année de l'ère Tienchun (1462), le roi de Siam Plah Lan-Lo-the-tchi-po-tchi. (Phra; Ramathibodi) envoya un ambassadeur apporter le tribut à la cour de Chine :

La dix-huitième année de l'ère Tching hoa (1482) le prince héréditaire de Siam notifia à l'empereur de Chine la mort de son père et obtint l'investiture. On voit, dit M. Aymonier, qu'il s'agit en définitive d'un souverain qui aurait régné sous le nom de Ramadhipati de 1453 à 1482 et qui aurait été le fils adoptif de son prédécesseur.

Or les annales Siamoises font de Uthong Ramathibodi le sixième souverain des Thais et le considèrent comme "gendre" ce que les Chinois ont pu appeler fils adoptif du cinquième roi. Ils en font le fondateur d'Ayouthia mais placent la date de la fondation en 1350. Mais M. Aymonier croit qu'il y a erreur de date.

D'après le récit de Bonning, le roi aurait fondé la ville d'Ayouthia après six ans de règne.

Or les annales Siamoisés nous donnent plusieurs Ramathibodi, dont un en 1350 et un autre en 1470-1509.

La première date n'est pas vraisemblable pour la fondation d'Ayouthia, dont aucun texte épigraphique ne fait mention.

Un auteur français du XVIIe. siècle, Nicolas Gervais, dit que le Muang Krung Thep Maha Nokor, (Ayouthia) avait été fondé deux cents ans avant son arrivée par Chao Thong—soit dans la seconde moitié du XVe. siècle.

Se basant sur cette assertion, et principalement sur le fait que les inscriptions d'un caractère nettement impérial émanant de souverains suprêmes du Siam se perpétuent à Sokotai jusqu'en 1427, M. Aymonier croit pouvoir affirmer que la fondation d'Ayouthia n'est pas antérieure à la seconde moitié du XVe. siècle et qu'elle peut être fixée en 1459. ou 1460.

C'est la dernière et la plus importante des théories de M. Aymonier concernant le Lamarnien et c'est sur elle que je veux terminer.

Je suis persuadé que ces rectifications de l'histoire du Siam ne manqueront pas, étant donnée la personnalité de l'auteur, d'attirer l'attention de ceux qui se sont attachés au passé de ce pays. Leur nouveauté et les documents sur lesquels l'auteur s'est appuyé susciteront, sans doute, des discussions et des critiques ; c'est ce que je souhaite à cette lecture, que je vous remercie d'avoir bien voulu écouter et dont je vous prie d'excuser la longueur et le peu de charmes.



Researches into indigenous Law of Siam as a  
study of Comparative Jurisprudence.

[ BY T. MASAO, D. C. L. ]

From the point of view of Comparative Jurisprudence it may be said that there are five original systems of Law from which the Laws of the different countries of the world are derived. These are (1) the Roman Law system, (2) the English Law system, (3) the Hindu Law system, (4) the Mohammedan Law system, and (5) the Chinese Law system. The Laws of the continental countries of Europe are examples of the Roman Law system, those of the German countries being Roman Law in purer forms and those of the Latin countries being Roman Law in less pure forms, or in other words, the former being the Pandect System and the later being the Institute or Code Napoleon System. The Laws of England, and of the different States of the United States of America with the exception of Louisiana, are examples of Laws belonging to the English Law system. India with its multitudes of what once were independent kingdoms and principalities, some of one religious profession, some of another but now all under the British administration, at the present day presents a unique example of a country in which the British Courts administer the Brahman, the Buddhist, and the Mohammedan Laws according to the religious profession of the litigant. The Laws of China and Corea are examples of the Chinese Law system. The ancient Laws of Japan belonged to the Chinese Law system, but the present Laws may, on the whole, be said to belong to that branch of the Roman Law system which may be called the German or Pandect System though they have taken a great deal from the English Law system also. Considering the geographical proximity of Siam to India and the fact that in ancient times Siam was so much under the influence of Indian civilization, one naturally expects that the ancient Laws of Siam should belong to the Hindu Law system. But it is curious to note that although everybody seems to be under the impression that the ancient Laws of Siam belong to the Hindu Law system no one has ever taken the trouble to prove it. I venture to think that this is not because the subject is uninteresting but because the point to be proved is generally admitted and taken for granted. My object this evening is to bring forth such texts from the ancient Laws of Siam as will show you that these ancient Laws belong to the Hindu Law system. If I

were a philologist or archaeologist like some of my co-workers of this Siam Society, I am quite sure I could also bring forth interesting philological and archaeological facts in support of my argument, but as I am nothing more than a practical lawyer I can only present you with such texts of Laws as have come under my notice in the course of my studies in the ancient Laws of Siam.

The very first thing which struck me, when I commenced my study of Siamese Law nearly eight years ago, was the very striking similarity of Siamese Law to Hindu Law in the manner of dividing the subjects or titles of Law. In the Code of Manu, the typical Hindu Law book, the whole body of Civil and Criminal Law is divided into 18 principal titles. According to Prof. Bühler's translation these 18 titles or causes of law suits are as follow :— (1) debt, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) hiring of persons, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between the owner of cattle and his servants, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault, (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, (16) duties of man and wife, (17) partition of inheritance, (18) gambling and betting (Mann VIII, 4-8). On this same subject the Siamese Phra Tamasart says ; "The causes which give rise to law suits are as follows, etc." and enumerates all these 18 titles in almost the identical words and adds 11 more such as kidnapping, rebellion, war, the King's property and taxes, etc.

The same similarity is observable in the manner of classifying slaves. In the Code of Manu slaves are classified as follows ;— (1) those who have been made captives of war, (2) those who have become slaves for the sake of being fed, (3) those who have been born of female slaves in the house of their master, (4) those who have been bought, (5) those who have been given, (6) those who have been inherited from ancestors, and (7) those who have become slaves on account of their inability to pay large fines (Manu VIII, 4-15). On this subject the Siamese Laxana Tat begins by saying that there are seven kinds of slaves and enumerates them as follows :— (1) slaves whom you have redeemed from other money masters, (2) slaves who have been born of slaves in your house (3) slaves whom you have got from your father and mother, (4) slaves whom you have got from others by way of gift, (5) slaves whom you have helped out of punishment,

(6) those who have become your slaves by your having fed them when rice was dear, and (7) those whom you have brought back as captives when you went to war. You will observe at once that the 7 kinds of slaves mentioned in the Code of Manu and the Siamese Laxana Tat are exactly the same.

Those of you who have read Sir John Bowring's treatise on Siam will remember his remark that "legal reasons for excluding witnesses are so many in Siam that they would appear seriously to interfere with the collection of evidence." Here again I have another illustration of the close analogy between the Hindu Law and the ancient Siamese Law. The Code of Manu says as follows :—"Those must not be made witnesses who have an interest in the suit, nor familiar friends, companions, and enemies of the parties, nor men formerly convicted of perjury, nor persons suffering under severe illness, nor those tainted by mortal sin. The King cannot be made a witnesses, nor mechanics and actors, nor a Srotriya, nor a student of the Veda, nor an ascetic who has given up all connection with the world, nor one wholly dependent, nor one of bad fame, nor a Dasyu, nor one who follows cruel occupations, nor an aged man, nor an infant, nor one man alone, nor a man of the lowest castes, nor one deficient in organs of sense, nor one extremely grieved, nor one intoxicated, nor a mad man, nor one tormented by hunger or thirst, nor one oppressed by fatigue, nor one tormented by desire, nor a wrathful man, nor a thief" (Manu VIII, 64-68). On this subject the Siamese Laxana Pavan says that the following 33 kinds of persons are excluded from being witnesses, namely, (1) those who do not observe the 5 and 8 precepts, (2) those who are debtors of litigants or have borrowed anything from them, (3) slaves of litigants, (4) relations of litigants, (5) friends of litigants, (6) companions of litigants who eat and sleep with them, (7) those who have quarrelled with litigants, (8) those who are covetous, (9) enemies of litigants, (10) those who are suffering under severe illness, (11) children under 7 years of age, (12) Aged people over 70 years of age, (13) those who go about defaming one person to another (14) those who beg for food by dancing, (15) those who beg for food by singing and playing, (16) those who have no homes and wander about, (17) those who hold cocoa-nut shells and go about begging, (18) those who are deaf, (19) those who are blind, (20) prostitutes, (21) lewd women, (22) pregnant women, (23) those who are neither male nor female, (24) those

who are both male and female, (25) sorcerers and sorceresses, (26) those who are mad, (27) physicians who have not studied medical books, (28) shoe makers, (29) fisher men, (30) those who are confirmed gamblers, (31) thieves and robbers, (32) those who are wrathful, (33) executioners. You will observe if there is any difference between the text of the Hindu Manu and that of the Siamese Laxana Payan it is that whilst the Hindu text is more general in some instances the Siamese text is more specific. For instance, while the Code of Manu says in a general way that infants and aged men cannot be made witnesses, the Laxana Payan is more specific by limiting the exact ages under and above which they cannot be made witnesses. Again, while the Code of Manu excluded in a general way those who follow cruel occupations, those who are deficient in organs of sense, those who are of the lowest castes, etc., the Laxana Payan goes into details and specifies what they are. But on the whole it cannot be denied that both the Hindu and Siamese texts are hinting at one and the same thing.

It is a principle of Hindu Law that interest ought never to exceed the capital (Manu VIII, 151,153). The Siamese Laxana Ku-Ni expresses this same principle as follows:— “Where a person contracts a debt and pays interest for one, two or three months, but afterwards fails to do so; and when the creditor presses him, he defers and evades payment, so that the creditor having received neither capital nor interest for a long time, summons him before the judge, the interest which the debtor has paid for the first, second or third month is profit due to the creditor; the creditor may also claim the amount of interest which remains unpaid, but if the debt be a long standing one, let the interest not exceed the capital, according to law” (Archer’s translation of the Siamese Laws on Debts page 6). I may here observe for the sake of accuracy that Mr. Archer’s expression “let the interest not exceed the capital, according to law” is in the original “hai bangkap teh to na doi phra racha krisdika ให้บังคับ แต่ ต่อหน้าโดย พระราชกฤษฎีกา” which literally means “let be paid to the face only, according to law” and that H. R. H. Prince Rajburi expresses a doubt in his notes to his edition of Siamese Laws whether those who interpret that expression to mean that interest shall not exceed the capital are right or not. However, with all due respects for his Royal Highness’s scholarship and without at all meaning to be dogmatic as to how the expression “only to the face teh to na แต่ ต่อหน้า” should

be interpreted, I may tell you that the principle of Hindu Law that interest shall not exceed the capital is one that is applied by the Siamese Courts even at the present day, which is not the case with most of the texts of the ancient Laws of Siam which I am submitting for your consideration this evening.

It is a principle of Hindu Law that if a defendant falsely denies a debt he is to be fined double the amount of the debt (Manu VIII, 59). The Siamese Laxana Ku-Ni expresses this same principle as follows:— "Where a debtor summoned before the judge does not acknowledge the debt; if it be ascertained that he is really so indebted, let him be fined double the amount of the debt" (Archer's translation of Siamese Laws on Debts page 9).

The foregoing texts which I have quoted at random from the Hindu Code of Manu and the ancient Laws of Siam will, I trust, have been sufficient to convince you that the ancient Laws of Siam are of Hindu origin and belong to that group of Laws which I have called the Hindu Law system,—a proposition which is admitted and taken for granted by every one but which curiously enough no one has ever undertaken to prove before me. If I shall ever be fortunate enough to have your indulgent audience once more I shall on another occasion submit for your consideration such characteristics of the ancient Laws of Siam as contradistinguish them from Hindu Law in spite of their Hindu origin.



## Note sur les Populations de la Région des Montagnes des Cardamones.

PAR LE DOCTEUR JEAN BRENGUES.

MEDECIN DES COLONIES.

Les montagnes du Cardamom (en cambodgien : phnom kravanh ; en Siamois : phú Kra : van) forment la limite inférieure entre le bassin du Grand Lac et la mer. Elles couvrent une partie des provinces Cambodgiennes de Pursat, Kompong Speu et Kompot et des provinces Siamois de Battambang et de Chantabun.

Géologiquement ces provinces peuvent être définies : pays de terrain cristallophyllien soulevé depuis très longtemps, présentant cependant dans la région nord une couche de grès très denses. Ces terrains ont subi un plissement de direction N. O.—S. E. formant ainsi une série de chaînes parallèles montant par une pente assez douce du côté du Grand Lac pour se terminer du côté de la mer. C'est dans cette région des montagnes du cardamone que toutes les rivières qui se jettent dans la partie inférieure du Grand Lac prennent leurs sources.

Ces montagnes des Cardamones présentent de hauts sommets comme le massif du Phnom Utumpor, du Phnom Srong, du Phnom Khroung Krapo' qui atteignent et même dépassent 1,400 mètres. Cette région d'ailleurs a été très peu parcourue et est une des moins connues du Cambodge.

Comme presque tous les pays de montagne, ce pays est fort pittoresque : lorsqu'on le parcourt on rencontre souvent la belle forêt tropicale avec ses arbres élevés, ses enchevêtrements de liane, sa végétation luxuriante, mais trop souvent hélas ! on voyage à travers la forêt clairière qui, à travers toute l'Indo-Chine, présente toujours les mêmes caractères : arbres rabougris et clairsemés, sol sablonneux, herbes flétries par la moindre sécheresse, aspect triste et monotone. Comme toutes les populations des montagnes, les Porr ont l'habitude, à la fin de la saison sèche, de mettre le feu à la forêt ; la forêt claire n'est plus alors qu'une morne solitude d'aspect tout à fait désolé.

Les indigènes qui habitent dans les montagnes du cardamone portent des noms différents suivant les régions : Les cambodgiens les désignent sous le nom de Porr, les Siamois sous le nom de Chong, mais il n'est pas rare que les indigènes, Porr ou Chong, se désignent souvent eux-mêmes sous le nom de Tamrét. La transcription de ce



mot peut aussi être faite par trois termes : Samrè, Samret Samrèk quelquefois aussi Samrel ; le plus répandu est Samrè.

Les Porr et les Chong ont certainement la même origine et présentent de grandes analogies au point de vue ethnographique bien qu'il existe entre eux quelques légères différences.

Les Porr existent dans toute la chaîne des Cardamones et dans la chaîne de l'Elephant ; dans la région de Kampot, ils sont connus sous le nom de Anreak et de Lauch ; ils tendent d'ailleurs à se mêler de plus en plus aux cambodgiens dont ils ont adopté le costume et les mœurs.

On ne sait rien ou presque rien de certain au sujet de leur histoire et ils paraissent ignorer tous les événements antérieurs à deux ou trois générations ; ils se rappellent seulement qu'ils occupaient autrefois la région de Thma Tchat (moyenne vallée de la rivière de Pursat) dont ils ont été chassés par les Cambodgiens. Ils se rappellent également qu'autrefois ils se divisaient en trois tribus.

Les Porr ou Samrè { Salai  
                                  Ksùm  
                                  Híp

Ces trois tribus appartenaient à la même race mais se différenciaient par les animaux qu'elles offraient en sacrifice aux Esprits à l'époque des grandes fêtes. Ainsi les Porr Salai offraient des poulets, les Porr Ksùm des cochons et les Porr híp un boeuf, cela semblerait indiquer qu'autrefois le totemisme existait parmi ces populations.

Au Cambodge existait jadis une classe de gens appelés Pol (du pali, pala : force ou soldats, constituant les forces) ces gens étaient autrefois affectés à la garde des monuments (pagodes du roi etc... c'étaient soit des prisonniers de guerre (Laotiens, Annamites, diverses tribus), soit des condamnés politiques (trahison, vol important etc...)

Ces Pol étaient à la disposition du Roi qui pouvait faire d'eux ce qu'il lui plaisait ; un certain nombre ont été envoyés pour la garde des jardins royaux du cardamône, ils se contentaient de surveiller la récolte et la culture de la cardamône. Ils ne pouvaient quitter le pays, se fixaient dans la région et contractaient des unions avec les femmes Porr. Le contact continu des Porr et des Pohl explique très bien comment les Porr sont très métissés de

Cambodgiens. Les Porr sont, comme tous les gens de la montagne très robustes ; le teint est en général très foncé, mais il existe des variations individuelles très grandes, variations qui se retrouvent d'ailleurs chez les Cambodgiens de la province de Pursat ; tantôt, mais rarement, le teint est assez clair et correspond aux No<sup>o</sup> 36-37 de l'échelle de Broca ; plus fréquemment, le teint est extrêmement foncé, correspondant aux No<sup>o</sup> 41-43 ; les teintes les plus foncées se retrouvent chez les Porr qui rappellent le type Nègretos. Les saillies musculaires sont bien marquées surtout aux membres, la cage thoracique est bien développée. Les cheveux sont en général fort et lisses et peu frisés, mais, à côté du type à cheveux lisses, on observe un type très net où, au contraire, les cheveux sont très frisés presque laineux (ainsi que le montre une photographie) analogues à ceux qu'on observe chez les Nègretos.

La proportion de ceux qui présentent ce type de cheveux frisés est assez variable ; dans la région de Sré Ten Yor, cette proportion serait d'après nos renseignements, de un vingtième. On trouve d'ailleurs tous les intermédiaires entre le Porr à cheveux lisses droits et les Porr dont nous venons de parler. Le nez est le plus souvent aplati et les pommettes sont très proéminentes, mais on trouve, comme pour les autres parties du visage, un certain nombre de types à nez droit (ce dernier type est plutôt très rare). Les lèvres sont souvent épaisses ; quant à la barbe, les Porr paraissent en avoir moins que les Cambodgiens.

Les Porr présentent un type général assez rapproché de celui des populations Cambodgiennes voisines ; ce fait peut facilement s'expliquer en observant qu'il y a eu entre Porr et Cambodgien de très nombreux croisements. Mais à côté de ce type, se rapprochant du Cambodgien, on trouve un autre type, de taille en général plus petite, avec un nez assez aplati, des pommettes très saillantes, une pigmentation très prononcée de la peau, des cheveux crépus, frisés, presque laineux rappelant très nettement le type Nègretos.

Les habitations des Porr sont faites avec des bambous, des écorces d'arbre ou du latanier et le toit est recouvert de paillettes faites avec des herbes.

La maison est surélevée de 1m. à 1m. 20 ; à côté d'elle, on ne trouve pas comme dans la maison cambodgienne le petit grenier à riz ; le riz est conservé dans l'intérieur de la maison, dans des paniers. Pour grimper dans la

maison, on trouve quelquefois un escalier en bambous ; mais, plus souvent, une échelle faite d'un tronc d'arbre sur lequel s'implantent perpendiculairement un certain nombre d'échelons. Lorsque le Porr quitte sa maison il relève son échelle. La maison comprend en général deux pièces : une étroite qui sert de dortoir et une plus large où le Porr se tient pendant la journée. Sur le derrière de la maison se trouve une verandah où l'on fait cuire le riz.

L'habillement pour les hommes, est à peu près le même que celui des Khmers : langouti et courte veste, mais les étoffes en sont plus grossières ; les femmes commencent à s'habiller comme les Cambodgiennes mais on en rencontre encore un certain nombre qui portent l'ancien costume : pagne semblable à celui porté par les Laotiennes et appelé "loi chai" et longue tunique échancrée à sa partie supérieure analogue à celle que portent les Cambodgiennes. Les hommes portent les cheveux courts ; les femmes laissent, au contraire, pousser leur chevelure, qui est en général fort belle et font fort en arrière un chignon qui présente un aspect assez curieux.

Toutes les femmes portent des boucles d'oreilles volumineuses ; la coutume était très répandue autrefois de faire un trou dans l'oreille du jeune enfant, d'y introduire des morceaux de bois de calibre de plus en plus volumineux et, lorsque le trou avait un diamètre d'au moins 3m.m, on introduisait les boucles d'oreilles ; chez les hommes la même pratique existait mais on ne faisait un trou que d'un seul côté, cette coutume tend à l'heure actuelle à disparaître. L'alimentation se compose de riz, poisson, porc, poulets, œufs, herbes, gibier etc... en général ils assaisonnent fortement leur nourriture avec la saumure appelée Kro (Cambodgien : prohok) qu'ils vont acheter au Cambodge. Les Porr chiquent comme les Cambodgiens mais remplacent l'arec par des écorces d'arbres, en particulier par l'écorce de l'arbre Lambok riet ; ils ne sont pas fumeurs d'opium mais, en général, grands buveurs d'alcool de riz.

Les Porr sont de grands chasseurs et pêcheurs ; accoutumés dès leur jeune âge à parcourir la forêt en tous sens ils connaissent bien les mœurs des animaux sauvages et excellent dans l'art de tendre des pièges.

Chaque village possède un grand filet et souvent ont lieu de grandes chasses avec rabatteurs auxquelles tout le village prend part. Au contact des Cambodgiens ils

ont appris à cultiver des rizières, mais le plus souvent ils préfèrent faire des rizières de montagnes (raï). Autour des villages on trouve quelques arbres fruitiers, quelquefois de très belle plantations d'arêquier. Mais leur principal revenu ils le tirent de la forêt où ils vont chercher la cardamome et les divers bois d'essence précieuse (bois d'argle, gomme gutte, etc). Les Porr aiment beaucoup la musique qui est l'accompagnement nécessaire de toute fête et de toute cérémonie ; leur musique, à l'inverse de la musique Annamite ou Chinoise, est très douce, assez agréable à entendre pour nos oreilles Européennes mais semble peu variée.

Parmi leurs instruments de musique il en est un qui paraît assez original: c'est une espèce d'orgue désignée par les Porr sous le nom de "ploi" et qui rappelle d'assez loin par l'agencement des tubes de bambous, l'orgue Laotien. Le ploi se compose d'une citrouille de volume moyen traversée par trois longs tubes de bambous accolés et portant à une de ses extrémités un tube assez long terminé par une embouchure. Les tubes, de bambous sont percés, aussi bien à l'intérieur qu' à l'extérieur de la courge de trous qui permettent d'obtenir une gamme de sons. Le nombre de tubes de bambous est variable de 3 à 7. On joue de l'instrument en soufflant ou en aspirant dans l'embouchure et en promenant les doigts sur les trous percés sur les bambous :

#### TAILLE.

On sait d'une manière générale que l'Indo-Chine comme le Japon et la Malaisie est d'un foyer de races à petites tailles ; la taille moyenne des Porr qui est de 1m. 595 permet de les classer parmi les races à tailles plutôt petites.

Voici à ce sujet quelques chiffres empruntés à divers auteurs :

Annamites de Cochinchine . . . . .	1571
Moïstrao de l'Indo-Chine Française . . . . .	1579
Moïs en général . . . . .	1583
Japonnais . . . . .	1590

Annamites du Tonkin . . . . id.

Laotiens (bas Laos) . . . . id.

Ce qui est intéressant à observer c'est que la taille moyenne des Porr ne se différencie pas beaucoup de celles des races Khmers et Thaï qui les environnent.

Pour les Thaï (Siamois) leur taille moyenne est de 1m. 600 très voisine de 1595.

Pour les Khmers d'après d'anciennes observations portant sur un nombre très restreint d'individus (117) on admettait comme taille moyenne (Deniker) 1'648 ou 1'65; à notre avis ces chiffres sont trop élevés et s'appliquent à Pnom-Peng. Dans la province de Pursat, où sont situées les montagnes du cardamone et où vivent les Porr, la taille moyenne de 100 Cambodgiens adultes n'a été trouvée que de 1'608 à peine inférieure de 13 mm. à celle de Porr. C'est une chose très naturelle et qui s'explique très bien par les nombreux metissayes qui se sont produits dans cette région en Khmers et Porr.

La sériation quinaire des tailles nous donne quelques résultats intéressants (voir tableau 1); dans un groupe donné on peut voir en étudiant de très près cette sériation dans quelques conditions s'est formée la taille moyenne. Chez les 120 Porr et les 100 Cambodgiens de la région de Pursat cette sériation est très différente; chez les Cambodgiens un peu moins de la moitié des tailles 47 %, appartient aux petites tailles tandis que chez les Porr il y a 60 % de petites tailles; au dessous de la moyenne, il y a chez les Porr 83,3 % des tailles tandis que chez les Cambodgiens de Pursat cette proportion n'est que de 74 %—26 % appartient chez les Khmers aux tailles au dessus de la moyenne et aux hautes tailles; chez les Porr la même proportion n'est que de 16 %.

#### INDICE CEPHALIQUE.

Les Porr doivent être ranges parmi les mesaticéphales (Tableau II.) tandis que les Cambodgiens sont des sous-brachycéphales (83-6). (Deniker) 84,3 d'après nos mensurations sur les habitants de la région de Pursat.

Les divers modes de sériation (Tableau III. et IV.) donnent des résultats plus intéressants. La repartition individuelle (Tableau III.) des indices chez les Porr montre

la présence d'un maximum vers 79. En réalité ce maximum doit être compris entre 78 et 82. Chez les Khmers de Pursat il semblerait qu'il y ait deux maxima l'un vers 83 le second compris entre 86 et 88. La différence, on le voit, est sensible: les Porr sont des mesaticéphales mais comptant parmi eux de nombreux dolico et sous dolichocéphales; les Khmers au contraire sont des sous brachycéphales se rapprochant très près des vrais brachycéphales.

C'est ce que montre très nettement le Tableau IV. (sériation quinaire). Chez les Porr 67 % de mesaticéphales; chez les Khmers, ce chiffre n'atteint que 26 %; ce même tableau montre bien chez les Khmers les deux maxima: l'un chez les sous brachycéphales, l'autre parmi les uttro brachycéphales.

L'étude des relations existant entre la taille et l'indice céphalique ne nous amène aucun résultat: il ne semble pas y avoir de rapport net entre ces deux éléments.

#### INDICE NASAL.

La hauteur et la largeur du nez ont été pris au compas d'épaisseur.

Indice nasal moyen } Porr	95.4
	Cambodgiens de Pursat 87.

Les Porr comme les Cambodgiens sont des platyrhiniens. Les Cambodgiens se rapprochent beaucoup des mérorrhiniens car (Tableau VI.) ils présentent une proportion très élevée de mérorrhiniens (45 %); les Porr, au contraire, sont des platyrhiniens vrais; la proportion de mérorrhiniens n'est parmi eux que de 9 %.

L'étude de la répartition individuelle de l'indice nasal (Tableau V.) semble indiquer la présence chez les Cambodgiens d'un maximum vers 87 tandis que ce maximum chez les Porr paraît compris entre 95 et 100.

TABLE.  
Tableau I.

Origine	Nombre de Mensurations	Tailles extrêmes			Nombre.				
		Taille moyenne.	Maxi- mum.	Mini- mum.	Ecart.	De petites (1.60)	De Tailles aues- sous de la moy- enne (160 à 164)	De Tailles aues- sus de la moy- enne (165 à 169)	De hautes tailles (1.70)
Porr . . . . .	120	1595	1826	1507	0,319	60	23.3	13.3	3.3
Cambodgien (Pursat) .	106	1608	1729	1462	0,267	47	27.	22.	4
Femmes Porr . . . . .	5	1490							

Répartition individuelle des indices céphaliques. Tableau II.

Origine.	L. C. Moyen.	Variations extrêmes		écarts.
		Minimum	Maximum	
Porr 120	81, 2	74, 2	90, 7	16, 5
Cambodgien 100 (Pursat)	84, 3	73, 8	94, 2	20, 4
Femmes Porr	80, 2	77	84, 9	7, 9

Répartition individuelle des indices céphaliques. Tableau III.

Indices ...	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	Total
Porr (120) ...		3	2	4	9	12	16	12	10	14	9	9	8	4	2	4		2	120
Cambodgien	1				2	5	4	4	8	7	18	8	6	10	7	10	7	3	



Groupement quinaire des indices céphaliques. Tableau IV.

Nomenclature	Porr Porr 120 Cambodgien 100				Total
Dolicocéphales au dessous de 77	9	7,4%	1	1	
Sous dolicocéphales (77.7-96) ...	27	22,4	9		
Mesaticéphales (79.6-81.9) ...	31	24,9	16	16%	
Sous brachycéphales (82-85.2) ...	37	30,7	34	34%	
Brachycéphales (85.3-87) ...	8	6,8	14	14%	
Ultra brachycéphales ...	8	6,8	26	26%	

Répartition individuelle de l'indice nasal. Tableau V.

Origine	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	Total	
Porr	1		2		1		3	2	1	1	4	1	1	7	5	8	6				9	10	16				16		8	1	3	3		3					8 120
Cambodgien	7	7	3		4	6	4	3	5	2	4	6	4	10	2	3	4				5	4				6									1				100

Répartition quinaire de l'indice nasal. Tableau VI.

Nomenclature.	Porr	Cambodgien Pursat.	Pourcentage.
Misorhiniens 70 et au dessous à 76, 9	1	7	0,8 Cambod.
75 à 79, 9	3	20	2,4
80 à 84, 9	7	18	5,7
85 à 89, 9	18	24	14,9
90 à 94, 9	33	12	27,3
95 à 99, 9	26	12	21,3
100 à 106, 9	28	6	23,2
104 9 et au dessus	14	1	11,6

D'une manière générale, il est extrêmement difficile d'exposer d'une façon systématique les idées des "Porr" sur les divers Génies qu'ils honorent et sur le culte qu'ils leur rendent. Ces "Génies" ou "Esprits" sont loin, en effet, d'être les mêmes pour tous les villages. Il semblerait que dans chaque région, en dehors des Esprits dont nous aurons tout à l'heure à nous occuper et que tous les Porr connaissent au moins de nom, il y ait dans chaque village un Génie particulier qui plus spécialement s'occupe des intérêts du village et auquel on s'adresse chaquefois qu'un évènement extraordinaire se produit.

Mais, en dehors du Génie protecteur du village, les Porr, rendent un culte à quatre grands esprits qui sont désignées sous les noms de :

Achnho Mau.

„ Mças.

„ Ingris.

„ Ik.

De ces quatre Génies, l'Achnho Mau est celui qui paraît occuper la plus grande place dans les idées religieuses des Porr.

La légende le représente comme un ancien chef de la tribu et un chasseur qui aurait le premier découvert les forêts de cardamones. Il résiderait tout particulièrement dans la forêt appelée Prey Khla Khmum. C'est à lui que l'on s'adresse surtout quand on fait des rizières ou des cultures de toute espèce.

C'est au mois de Bos et de Phisac (1) que sont célébrées en son honneur deux grandes fêtes. Dans certains cas et lorsqu'un évènement s'est produit tel qu'une grande sécheresse, on célèbre en son honneur et pour l'apaiser une troisième cérémonie.

On commence par élever un petit autel provisoire appelé Rong.

Lorsque l'autel a été dressé, tous les gens du village se réunissent autour du sorcier et la fête commence au son D'un orchestre Porr.

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10. Les mois de Bos et de Phisac correspondent à Janvier et Mai.

Le sorcier cependant invoque à haute voix l'Achnho Mau et lui offre, au nom du village, des gâteaux, du paddy, du riz décortiqué et du riz cuit, de l'alcool et quelques poulets qui sont sacrifiés pendant la cérémonie. Il est préférable d'offrir à ce Génie des poulets de couleur blanche ; il est absolument interdit de tuer avec un couteau les poulets qui sont offerts au Génie ; il faut les assommer avec un bâton. Au moment de les sacrifier, le sorcier, s'adressant directement au Génie prononce une prière dont voici à peu près la traduction :

“ Nous sacrifions ; ô divin Achnha Mau ; ce poulet blanc en ton honneur. Nous espérons que, comme par le passé, tu continueras à protéger le village et à éloigner de lui toutes les calamités.”

Le sorcier arrose la terre avec de l'alcool, ou jette quelques graines de riz ou de paddy sur le champ le plus voisin afin de conjurer le mauvais esprit.

La cérémonie terminée, les gens du village prennent les poulets qui ont été sacrifiés ainsi que le riz offert et se partagent le tout.

L'Achnha Méas aurait été, d'après la légende un des anciens chefs de la tribu, grand chasseur qui au cours de ses pérégrinations aurait découvert une forêt de cardamônes. Il résiderait à l'heure actuelle dans la forêt appelée Prey Péang Khlang.

Lorsqu'il se manifeste, il ne prend jamais la forme humaine, mais plutôt celle d'animaux féroces : tigre, rhinocéros éléphant sauvage etc. Son action paraît surtout s'exercer dans la forêt profonde et épaisse des cardamônes.

C'est lui qui se trouve aux sources des rivières, ruisseaux, qui sous des formes variées et des noms différents habite sur les arbres élevés, au sommet des montagnes, à l'entrée des grottes, dans les défilés etc.

C'est en général un esprit bon mais il ne convient pas de commettre dans la forêt quelque acte qui puisse lui déplaire, car alors il manifestera tout de suite sa puissance en envoyant vers ceux qui l'ont offensé, bêtes et animaux féroces et il y a pour les Porr mille façons de l'offenser. L'offense la plus grave est de ne point lui

adresser lorsque l'on pénètre dans la forêt une courte prière dont voici à peu près la traduction :

“Achnha Méas, au moment où je pénètre dans la forêt je t'invoque et me mets sous ta protection afin que tu me prêtes aide.”

C'est également une offense assez grave que d'aller dans la forêt se livrer au doux jeu de l'amour. On l'offense encore lorsque l'on coupe certains arbres où il se plaît à habiter, lorsque l'on injurie quelqu'un etc...

C'est à lui en général que les Porr font remonter la cause des fièvres paludéennes que l'on contracte en allant dans les forêts profondes. Dans ce cas, il est nécessaire d'avoir recours au sorcier qui; par ses prières, peut, seul, apaiser l'esprit.

Il est difficile de savoir d'une façon précise le rôle que jouent les deux autres esprits Achnha Ingris, Achnha Ik auxquels les Porr adressent encore leurs prières.

La légende les représente également tous deux comme d'anciens chefs de la tribu, ayant, de leur vivant, rendu de grands services, découvert la cardamome, et dont l'esprit, à leur mort, est allé habiter dans la forêt.

L'Achnha Ingris réside dans la forêt appelée Tomrôl.

L'Achnha Ik dans la forêt Kong Tchiang.

Le culte que l'on rend à ces deux esprits est le même que celui que l'on rend à l'Achnha Mau et à l'Achnha Méas.

A côté et au dessus des quatre Achnha dont nous venons de parler existe une autre divinité, dont les Porr n'aiment guère entretenir les étrangers et que l'on désigne sous le nom de Arak Kol ; il semble que ce soit la divinité que les Porr redoutent le plus car c'est en son honneur qu'ils donnent les plus grandes fêtes.

Voici quelle est la légende de cet Arak Kol : Au temps jadis vivaient deux frères Achnha Long et Achnha Lai : c'étaient deux grands chefs de la tribu Porr ; certain jour les deux frères s'amusaient ensemble auprès d'une borne (Kol), et jouaient avec le couteau appelé Banthos : par mégarde l'aîné tua d'un coup de couteau son frère cadet. Et l'esprit de ce frère cadet se transforma en un Génie méchant appelé Arak Kol en souvenir de l'endroit où s'était

passé le crime. Pendant longtemps ce méchant esprit exigea, pour s'apaiser, des sacrifices humains ; les Porr, sur ce point, sont très affirmatifs et disent que leurs anciens se rappelaient l'époque des sacrifices humains ; mais depuis assez longtemps les sacrifices humains sont remplacés par des sacrifices d'animaux. Ces deux Achnha : Achnha Long, Achnha Lai, jouent un très grand rôle dans les Mythes des Porr ; d'après une autre légende les Porr seroient les descendants de ces deux frères et seraient obligés jusqu'à la fin des siècles d'apaiser, par des sacrifices, l'esprit de l'Achnha Lai qui fut tué par son frère ; d'après une autre légende ce seraient encore ces deux frères, dont l'un l'Achnha Long est représenté par le soleil dont l'autre est représenté par la lune, qui se dévoreraient au moment des éclipses.

Le sorcier du village, celui qui est chargé d'apaiser les esprits et de conjurer le sort, est désigné sous le nom de : Ta Khvaï. En général il y a dans chaque village, un Ta Khvaï mais, quelquefois, un Ta Khvaï réputé exerce ses fonctions dans plusieurs villages.

Dans la région de Kréignou, il en existe deux : l'un à Chom, l'autre à Tok Lok. En général, ces fonctions de Ta Khvaï sont héréditaires ; car c'est une idée répandue chez les Porr que, de génération en génération, une famille a le pouvoir de rester en communication avec les esprits. C'est en assistant aux cérémonies que préside son père que le jeune Ta Khvaï est initié aux pratiques superstitieuses. Les rapports des sorciers avec les bonzes sont différents suivant les régions. Tantôt ils peuvent assister aux cérémonies de la pagode, tantôt cela leur est, chose interdite, mais dans tous les cas, il leur est défendu de revêtir la robe jaune.

Le Ta Khvaï est soumis à certaines règles ; il lui est interdit d'avoir des relations avec des jeunes filles ou avec la femme d'autrui, de prendre une chique de betel préparée par une autre femme que la sienne, de s'asseoir sur un pilon, etc.

Dans le cas où le sorcier enfreint ces interdictions, le Génie se venge en déchainant des calamités sur les gens du village. Rien de particulier n'est édicté au sujet du sorcier ; il peut se marier comme bon lui semble.

Le plus souvent le Ta Khvaï est un homme, mais dans certains villages, d'après ce qui nous a été rapporté,

c'est une femme (qui exerce les fonctions de sorcier). Dans le cas où le Ta Khvaï n'a que des filles, c'est parmi elles qu'est prise celle qui doit être la sorcière du village.

Le Ta Khvaï joue dans le village un rôle important : dans tous les actes de la vie sociale du Porr il a son rôle : à la naissance on ira le consulter pour savoir quelle sera la destinée, du jeune enfant ; au moment du mariage les jeunes époux iront, selon l'usage, lui apporter quelques cadeaux afin de se concilier les Génies, enfin dans tous les cas de maladie, de calamités c'est à lui que s'adressent tous les gens du village.

Le Ta Khvaï sert en réalité d'intermédiaire entre les gens du village et les Génies : c'est en lui que les Achnha s'incarnent et par lui qu'ils s'expriment.

Lorsque le sorcier a reconnu qu'il était nécessaire d'avoir recours aux esprits en général, ou quelquefois plus spécialement à l'esprit particulier auquel est adressée la requête, il expose clairement quels sont les désirs de celui qui invoque l'esprit, puis attend la réponse.

Il arrive parfois que les esprits (ou l'esprit particulier invoqué) ne répondent point : mais chaquefois qu'un esprit s'incarne dans le sorcier, l'esprit commence à déclarer par la bouche du sorcier : "je suis l'esprit, un tel." Je connais la cause de votre maladie ou de votre malheur. Voici ce que vous avez à faire" et alors le sorcier attache dans le cas de maladie, par exemple, des fils de coton aux pieds, aux mains ; d'autrefois l'esprit déclare que pour être apaisé, il est nécessaire qu'il lui soit fait un sacrifice.

Le Ta Khvaï joue souvent le rôle de médecin, mais il ne donne jamais de médicaments ; c'est uniquement par ses invocations aux Génies qu'il a la prétention de guérir toutes les maladies.

Il n'est pas rare que le Ta Khvaï, au moment où le Génie répond par sa bouche, soit pris d'une véritable crise de nature hystérique ou épileptiforme rappelant les crises de possession qu'on observait jadis.

Le sorcier tombe par terre, en poussant le plus souvent un cri initial et en s'agitant : ses membres se contractent, ses yeux sont convulsés et il perd connaissance.

Lorsque cette crise est passée, il dit alors au nom du Génie, ce qu'il convient de faire dans le cas qui l'occupe.

Ces crises de possession sont-elles simulées dans le but de frapper l'imagination de celui qui vient consulter? C'est ce qu'il est difficile de préciser.

A côté du Ta Khvaï, qui joue dans la vie religieuse des Porr un rôle si important et qui sert d'intermédiaire entre les hommes et les esprits, on trouve un autre sorcier qui est désigné sous le nom de Phra Kol ou encore de Khru; c'est lui qui, dans la cérémonie du Sen Kol, joue le principal rôle. Les Porr font très bien la différence entre les deux : le Ta Khvaï est celui qui sert d'intermédiaire entre le village et les esprits ; le Phra Kol est celui qui connaît la magie et les pratiques superstitieuses capables d'éloigner les esprits méchants.

Chaque annés les Porr célèbrent deux grandes fêtes aux mois de Phisak et de Méak (Mai & Décembre); ces deux fête sont très simples ; c'est en général le Ta Khvaï qui les préside ; on se contente de planter en terre des bougies, de les allumer et le Ta Khvaï en priant s'ecrie " O esprit protecteur, sois clément pour le village ; évite-nous les maladies ; fais bien pousser le riz " et on invoque ensuite les Achha Méas, Ingris, etc.

Ces deux fêtes sont des fêtes rituelles qui reviennent régulièrement chaque année. A côté de ces deux fêtes se célèbre une fête plus importante encore et qui est désignée sous le nom de Sen Kol. La Sen Kol n'est pas célébré d'une manière régulière ; elle à lieu tous les quatre ou cinq ans ou même davantage à la suite de quelque grande calamité telle que maladie épidémique, sécheresse, inondation, etc.

Trois jours avant la grande fête, le sorcier, qui en à fixé la date, prévient les gens du village et les préparatifs commencent : on fabrique en quantité de l'alcool de riz, car chez la plupart des populations indigènes une bonne fête doit être accompagnée de nombreuses et fréquentes libations. On élève, sous forme de petite case, dans l'endroit choisi appelé Kol (borne), un petit autel, fermé de trois côtés et que l'on désigne sous le nom de Rong Phra : En général, ce Rong Phra est situé en dehors du village et on l'entoure de troncs de bananiers coupés. Et au matin du jour de la cérémonie se forme une procession ayant en tête le devin Khru gru) qui tient en main le sabre et le bouclier, et aux sous de Tam Tam et des instruments de



musique la procession ce rend en chantant à l'endroit où à été élevé le Rong Phra : dont elle fait plusieurs fois le tour. Les musiciens s'installent ; auprès de Rong Phra : se place un chanteur et longuement on se met à invoquer le Génie du Pays en le priant de manifester sa présence. Et dans l'assistance, au bout d'un certain temps, plusieurs personnes sont prises de véritables crises de possessions de nature hystéri-forme, se mettent à danser, à crier, à hurler, à faire des gestes desordonnés et les Porr reconnaissent alors que le Génie s'est incarné dans le corps d'un de ces possédés. Il faut profiter du moment où l'esprit habite le corps d'un de ces possédés pour l'interroger et lui demander conseil sur les diverses maladies dont on est atteint. Les gens possédés prennent une bougie allumée, regardent la main de ceux qui consultent et disent alors que c'est tel génie qui est cause de la maladie et qu'il convient de faire telle ou telle chose pour s'en débarrasser.

Après les prières vient le sacrifice ; le sacrifice est fait par le sorcier à l'aide d'un couteau à lame recourbée appelé Bantos et d'une hachette, Doeung. Il est interdit, sous peine de graves châtements, de se servir du couteau Bantos pour autre chose que pour le sacrifice.

Les animaux que l'on offre à la divinité sont des buffles, des bœufs, des cochons ou des poulets ; il est absolument interdit de tuer d'autres animaux. Avant le sacrifice on expose devant le Rong Phra : les divers objets offerts en offrande au Génie et le devin, s'adressant à lui, dit : Génie, viens t'incarner dans le corps de ceux que tu fréquentes ; nous implorons ta pitié pour les divers actes qui auraient pu t'irriter ; délivre nous des maladies et ne déchaîne sur nous aucune calamité. Quand le moment du sacrifice est arrivé, la bête est amenée par trois personnes appelées Youm Phombal (Bourreaux ou gardiens de l'enfer) On conduit ainsi le buffle jusqu'au Kol, ou encadre la tête entre deux poteaux qu'on enterre fortement. L'un des Yom Phoeurbal, prend le Doeung (hachette) et lui coupe le cou tandis qu'un second Yom Phoeurbal coupe les tendons des pattes de derrière. Pendant ce temps le devin jette du riz (paddy) autour de la bête en invoquant le Génie (afin de le rendre favorable). Lorsque la tête est détachée du tronc, le sorcier va l'acheter aux Yom Phoeurbal et donne pour prix une pièce d'argent qui doit être enterrée à l'endroit

où la bête a été tuée. Le sorcier emporte alors la tête et va la placer en avant du Rong Phra : devant lequel on plante trois piquets d'inégale longueur : celui du milieu est haut de 6 coudées. C'est sur ce piquet qu'on empale la tête de la bête en lui faisant regarder l'ouest. Ces trois piquets sont enduits avec du sang de l'animal sacrifié et on plante tout autour des troncs de bananier et des pieds de canne à sucre.

Voici quelle est alors la disposition de la scène ; en arrière le grand Rong Phra ; en avant de lui sur un piquet de 6 coudées la tête de l'animal sacrifié ; en arrière un Rong plus petit ; entre la tête de l'animal et le petit Rong un tronc de bananier, d'un côté un piquet de 3 coudées auprès duquel est planté un pied de canne à sucre, de l'autre côté un second piquet de 5 coudées de hauteur et quelques paquets de gingembre.

A droite se tient une femme tenant, sur un plateau, un gâteau de riz de forme allongée, le foie de la bête sacrifiée, du paddy et du riz cuit pilé. En arrière se tiennent douze danseuses. Cette femme suivie du sorcier jette devant la tête de l'animal d'abord le riz, puis tout ce que contient le plateau ; les danseuses se mettent alors à danser autour de la tête du buffle, les tamtams et les instruments de musique font entendre leurs sons les plus criards et les plus assourdissants, et c'est à ce moment là qu'on peut pénétrer dans le grand Rong. Il n'est pas rare qu'à ce moment l'esprit manifeste sa présence en s'incarnant dans le corps de plusieurs personnes qui sont alors prises de véritables crises de possession.

La fête se prolonge pendant deux jours et une nuit, entremêlée de chants et de danses et accompagnée de nombreuses libations.

A côté des divers génies que nous venons d'étudier sommairement il en existe d'autres très particuliers et qui ne se rencontrent que dans les districts où est cultivée la cardamôme.

[La cardamôme croît dans les endroits humides et très-ombragés, dans les vallées profondes très encaissées, comme on en rencontre fréquemment dans les montagnes. Il existe plusieurs variétés de cardamôme ; la variété dite Krako est de beaucoup la plus fréquente : elle est très répandue au Laos (plateau des Bolovens, Dong Rëk) elle n'a pas grande valeur commerciale (\$ 15 à 20 le picul)

la cardamône vraie (Kravagne) est beaucoup moins répandue : on la cultive dans des forêts appelées Prey Kravagne : les Porr connaissent bien les forêts où poussent dans de bonnes conditions la vraie cardamône. La différence entre les deux cardamônes est assez sensible : le Krako est plus grand et à l'écorce ridée, le fruit du Kravagne se reconnaît à son aspect extérieur, à son odeur et à sa saveur. Les chinois font une grande consommation de Kravagne et le considèrent comme un très bon médicament ; le prix du Kravagne est, à l'heure actuelle, très élevé (\$ 400 à 500 et plus les 60 kilos.)

Les Génies de la Cardamône diffèrent suivant les régions. Dans la région de Rovieng les Génies protecteurs de la cardamône s'appellent Ta Nok et Ta Som et leurs femmes sont nommées Don Dêng and Don Chang. Le père de tous ces Génies s'appelle Ta Kol surnommé Kranhuong Dambang dek (le Vieux Kol qui a un bâton en bois de Kranhuong revêtu ou orné de fer). Dans d'autres régions ces génies s'appellent Ta Sok, Ta Som, Ta Koi, Ta Pong. En général, dans une forêt de cardamone, vivent plusieurs Génies 2. 3. 5. On leur prête le pouvoir de faire pousser la cardamône ; mais ils ne vivent pas dans la plante elle-même. Quand on n'observe pas à leur égard les rites ordinaires ils peuvent empêcher la plante de pousser et donner la fièvre.

Celui qui est chargé de présider toutes les cérémonies du culte de la cardamone s'appelle Don Kau. Comme pour le Ta Khvai, les Porr pensent que le pouvoir d'apaiser les Génies de la cardamône s'est transmis, de génération en génération, dans une même famille, aussi les fonctions de Don Kau sont-elles héréditaires. Les Porr célèbrent plusieurs fêtes pendant la saison de la cardamone. Voici la description de celle qui a lieu au moment de la cueillette de la cardamone dans la région de Rovieng. A l'entrée de la forêt de cardamône, dans un endroit consacré appelle Anhalen, on élève un autel que les Porr désignent sous le nom de Tong Phra : La veille du jour où doit avoir lieu la cueillette, tous ceux qui doivent y participer se réunissent autour du Tong Phra. Les présents consacrés ont été apportés ; ils consistent en riz cuit, gâteaux, poulet, alcool. La fête commence par une procession ; aux sons du ploi (instrument porr) le Don Kau marchant le premier et ayant sur la tête plusieurs fils de coton enroulés, les Porr

vont, en longue théorie, apportent aux Génies du cardamone les présents qui les rendent favorables.

Le Don Kau commence par offrir un plat de riz et de l'alcool à un génie appelé Néak Ta Khvear (génie gardien des Portes) puis longuement il invoque les Génies Ta Hok et Ta Som ainsi que leurs épouses : Don Deng et Don Phang. La musique accompagne les invocations du Don Kau. La fête se termine, comme beaucoup d'autres, par des libations.

Le lendemain, les Génies du cardamone étant apaisés, on procède à la cueillette du cardamone.

La langue des Porr a déjà été l'objet de quelques travaux ; M. Moura, dans son Royaume du Cambodge, en a publié un vocabulaire assez restreint mais fort intéressant car il montre que la langue parlée par les Porr de la province de Pursat et les Lamri de la province de Kompong Thom au Nord du Grand Lac est presque identique. M. Purie a publié dans "Excursions et Reconnaissances" un certain nombre de mots (environ 80) de la langue parlée par les Lauch de la province de Kampot. Les mots présentent les plus grandes analogies avec ceux de la langue Porr : en somme, on peut dire que Porr, Chong, Angkreak et Lanch parlent une langue presque identique et présentent, au moins au point de vue linguistique, une parenté très étroite.

Le vocabulaire que nous avons recueilli dans les provinces de Pursat and de Battambang a été pris sur le modèle formé par l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient et permettra ainsi une comparaison intéressante avec des dialectes pris sur le même modèle.

La place que doit occuper le dialecte Porr parmi les autres dialectes de l'Indo-Chine vient d'être établie dans un récent travail de M. Cabaton (dix dialectes Indo-Chinois, étude linguistique) récemment paru dans le journal asiatique. M. Cabaton a montré que les peuplades cantonnées dans le Cambodge et les régions adjacentes ont un lexique largement imprégné de mots Khmers ou d'origine Khmère. Longtemps on a différencié, au point de vue linguistique, les langues parlées par les diverses peuplades de Indo-Chine ; l'étude que vient de publier M. Cabaton semble démontrer que les différences sont loin

d'être aussi marquées qu'on le croit généralement et qu'il est possible de les "sérifier en quelques grandes familles."

L'étude d'un dialecte est nécessairement incomplète si on n'y ajoute un certain nombre de phrases simples permettant d'étudier le mécanisme de construction de la phrase : y a analogie complète, à ce point de vue, entre les langues Khmer et le Porr.

Enfin un autre caractère important de cette langue c'est qu'elle ne présente aucune tonalité ; à l'inverse du Thaï et de l'Annamite ; et, comme le Cambodgien la langue Porr ne paraît présenter aucune accentuation dans les mots.

## VOCABULAIRE PORR.

1	Ciel	Phlinh	36	Plomb	
2	Soleil	Thngi	37	Feu	Pleo
3	Lune	Kang	38	Fumée	Khma
4	Etoile	Khsim	39	Cendre	Pos ou
5	Le soleil se		40	Charbon	Khia
	lève	Thngi réah	41	Alkumer le	
6	Le soleil se			feu	Tout pleo
	couche	Thngi éhhiép	42	Eteindre le	
7	Nuage	Popòk		feu	Sùt pleo
8	Pluie	Téa : Kma	43	Forêt	Pri
9	Vent	Khial	44	Arbre	Them ni
10	Tonnerre	Kmar			(équivalent
11	Eclair	Lach			à tronc d'arbre)
12	Arc-en-ciel	Kathi Kang	45	Racine	Ré :
		ma (cham-	46	Tronc	Klong
		ról)	47	Branche	Krang ni
13	Orient	Thngi tók	48	Ecorce	Skā
14	Ouest	Thngi éhhiép	49	Bourgeon	Thom pông
15	Nord	Chung	50	Fleurs	Pang
16	Sud	Eh boung	51	Fruit	Pphi
17	Terre	The :	52	Feuille	Sla :
18	Plaine	Voual	53	Herbe	Smau
19	Montagne	Vâng	54	Cocotier	Them dung
20	Caverne	Rung	55	Noix de coco	Dung
21	Chemin	Khra	56	Aréquier	Them Sla
22	Eau	Téa :	57	Noix d'arec	Lang sla
23	Ruisseau	Chhünteng	58	Bananier	Them lang
24	Rivière	id.	59	Banane	Lang
25	Lac	Búng	60	Pamplemous-	
26	Mer			sier	Krack
27	Marais				thlong
28	Boue	Plāk	61	Pample-	
29	Poussière	The houi		mousse	Thlong
30	Sable		62	Manguier	Them Svai
31	Pierre	Thmo :	63	Mangue	Svai
32	Or	Mas	64	Jaquier	Kno
33	Argent		65	Poirier	Mreach
34	Fer	Ro hong	66	Murier	Lek
35	Cuivre		67	Tabac	Makao

68	Thé		108	Corne de	
69	Concombre	Phli rol		buffle	Troît: krapau
70	Citron	Kroch chmar	109	Griffe de	
71	Maïs	Pot		chat	Katras mieau
72	Haricot	Rota	110	Queue de	
73	Oignon	Khtim		chien	Ton chhô
74	Ail	Khtimsa	111	Défense de	
75	Patâte	Auh		sanglier	Knai sruk
76	Piment	Mlis			pri
77	Rizière	Srè	112	Crinière de	
78	Semer le riz	Prou hăl		cheval	Suk sés :
79	Répiquer	Slung hăl	113	Trompe	
80	Couper	Khêt hăl		d'éléphant	Timu knai
81	Piller	Chhak hăl	114	Mâle	Slong
82	Faire cuire le		115	Femelle	Khun
	riz	Thum chhong	116	Oiseau	Chim skeng
83	Mortier à riz	Tako :	117	Coq	Lêk slong
84	Pilon	Rohi	118	Poule	Lêk khun
85	Marmite	Kê	119	Canard	Ta
86	Rizière de		120	Corbeau	Kâa
	montagne	Sre liugh	121	Tourterelle	Tneure
87	Buffle	Krapau	122	Bec	Kon youre
88	Bœuf	Traï	123	Aile	Skeng
89	Taureau	Traï lóng	124	Plume	Suk (skeng)
90	Vache	Traï khun	125	Nid	Sambok
91	Bouc		126	Oeuf	Tung
92	Chèvre	(n'ont pas)	127	Pondre	Hen Tung
93	Chat	Mieu	128	Voler	En hem
94	Chatte	Mieu khun	129	Chanter	Iam
95	Chien	Chhô :	130	Poisson	Mêl
96	Aboyer	Chhô: ker :	131	Ecaille	Sang Mêl
97	Mordre	Khat	132	Nageoire	Plang Mêl
98	Cochon	Srôk	133	Crocodile	Leu kô
99	Cerf	Kdam	134	Crevette	Kompû
100	Ecureuil (Rat		135	Tortue de	
	palmiste	Phrâk		terre	Kian Rngam
101	Rat	Khon glé	136	Tortue d'eau	
102	Sanglier	Sruk pri		douce	Kian (kham)
103	Singe	Oua	137	Serpent	Psî
104	Panthère	Ravai bor	138	Grenouille	Kong
		kên	137	Serpent	Pû
105	Tigre	Ravai ta'k	138	Grenouille	Kong
106	Cheval	Sés	139	Crapeaud	Rrok
107	Eléphant	Knai	140	Mouche	Roi

141	Moustique	Mos	168	Cousin, cou-	
142	Papillon	Mé Ambou		sine	Châ dun
143	Fourmi	Sè mui			muoi
144	Araignée	Tung Măng	169	Grand-père	Chita
145	Abeille	Pha: Ngam	170	Grand-mère	Chi dun
146	Miel	Ta Pha :	171	Corps	Rub
		Ngam	172	Tête	Tôs
147	Homme (en		173	Cheveu	Suk :
	général;		174	Visage	Muk
	<i>homo</i>	Re Sum	175	Crâne	Rolia tôs
148	Homme ( <i>vir</i> )	Sam long	176	Front	Kling (an-
149	Femme	Cham khùn			choeum)
150	Jeune hom-		177	Oeil	Mât
	me	Kâmlos	178	Joue	Phren uel
151	Jeune fille	Srelêng	178	Oreille	Pralang
152	Enfant	Kneu	180	Nez	Matut
153	Vieillard	Tachús	181	Bouche	Trenêng
154	Mari	Slong	282	Lèvre	Sania Tréneng
155	Epouse	Tchún	183	Dent	Khôi
156	Père	Kunh U	184	Langue	Soltât (sol
		(Aunh)			kéat)
157	Mère	Pê	185	Menton	Krómán
158	Fils	Kënsamlong	186	Barbe	Sũk măn
159	Fille	Këcham	187	Cou	Kôk
		khùn	188	Epaule	Pling
160	Petit fils	Chau sam-	189	Aisselle	Prôka :
		long	190	Bras	Ti
161	Petite fille	Chau cham-	191	Main	Spal ti
		khùn	192	Main droite	Kok ti
162	Neveu	Chũ samlong	193	Main gauche	Ti teũ
163	Nièce	Chũ cham-	194	Doigt	Ti teng
		khùn	195	Ongle	Káchar
164	Frère aîné	Sling sam-	196	Poitrine	Ká thras :
		long	197	Mamelles	Trokie
165	Sœur aînée	Sling cham-	198	Ventre	Yok
		khùn	199	Nombril	Pung
166	Frère cadet	Sling sam-	200	Dos	Vang
		long ban	201	Cuisse	Phlu
		heus	202	Genou	Tasmokur
			203	Jambe	Khran
167	Sœur cad-		204	Pied	Săpolsing
	ette	Sling cham-	205	Orteil	Kácharsing
		khùn ban	206	Peau	Trlav
		heus	207	Chair	Sukrong



208	Poils	Klong	243	Etoffe de	
209	Os	Phom		soie	Prê
210	Sang	Ham	244	Coudre	Dir
211	L'âne	Ták kmat	245	Tisser	Thaïn
212	Sueur	Vôs	246	Métier à tis-	
213	Lait	Ták Yok		ser	Psâr
214	Urine	Tak klnum	247	S'habiller	Sampôr prit:
215	Manger le		248	Se déshabil-	
	riz	Hob plong		ler	Srot
216	Boire de		249	Village	Phum
	l'eau	Tal dák	250	Chemin	Khra
217	Boir de		251	Haie	Robong
	l'alcool	Taj kraïn	252	Jardin	Suon
218	Êtreivre	Pul	253	Maison	Tong
219	Sel	Luk (lok)	254	Porte	Thvia
220	Poiyre	Marèk	255	Fenêtre	Bang uoch
221	Sucre de		256	Toit	Tampok tong
	palmier	Sko (ine)	257	Bois de con-	
222	Huile	Pring		struction	Sis :
223	Graisse	Pû	258	Brique	Etune.
224	Viande	Pom	259	Lit decamp	Kré (inc.)
225	Oeuf de poule	Tung Lèk	260	Table	Tok (inc.)
226	Oeuf de canne	Tung Ta	261	Natte	Sil
227	Veste	Ao	262	Lampe	Changkien
228	Pantalon	Kho			(inc.)
229	Ceinture	Khse krevát	263	Torche	Chanlu :
230	Turban	Chob tos	264	Foyer	Pnok Pleo
231	Bouton	Lín ao	265	Bois à brûler	Us
232	Boutonnière	Phong lin	266	Balais	inc.
		ao	267	Papier	inc.
233	Soulier	Shék chong	268	Pinceau	inc.
234	Chapeau	Musc	269	Encre	
235	Bague	Tahreng	270	Poinçon à écrire	
		(anchên)	271	Ecrire	
236	Boucle		272	Ecriture	
	d'oreille	Tomhu	273	Livre	
237	Bracelet	Kong Ti	274	Lire en livre	
238	Anneau de		275	Voiture	
	pied	Kong Sing	276	Barque (piro-	
239	Collier	Kong kòk		gue)	Tuk
240	Fils de coton	Phrai	277	Rame (Pagaie)	
241	Fils de soie	Chis :	278	Arc	Thnu
242	Etoffe de		279	Flèche	Kham
	coton	Tar Phrai	280	Bouclier	Kheb

281	Couteau	Pët	318	Bruit	Sang
282	Scie	Ana (anal)	319	Flairer	Sut
283	Hâche	.	320	Bonne odeur	
284	Marteau			(sentir bon)	Koôl
285	Bêche	Chop Pit	321	Mauvaise odeur	
286	Charrue			(sentir mau-	
287	Jour	Thnë		vais)	Puk
288	Nuit	Chiép	322	Parler	Nhai
289	Aurore	Ngät	323	Chanter	Sruing
290	Midi	Thné trdol	324	Rire	Pëk
291	Semaine		325	Pleurer	Yam
292	Mois	Kâng	326	Prier	Trô
293	Année	Pôm	327	Tousser	Kmok
294	L'Année		328	Cracher	Ghu :
	dernière	Sôm si	329	Bailler	Sang Kal
295	Cette année	Sôm an	330	Semoucher	Sui Sëp
296	L'Année		331	Avoir faim	Svang
	prochaine	Nôm Pla	332	Avoir soif	Trôk
297	Hier	Asi	333	Têter	Sôk
298	Avant hier	Asi amoi	334	Se laver la	
299	Aujourd'hui	Ao van		figure	Chab tah
300	Demain	Pan	335	Se peigner	Ket Sup
301	Après de-		336	Peigne	
	main	Nân pang	337	Se baigner	Um tah
302	Saison		338	Couper ses	
303	Saison			cheveux	Kot Suk
	froide	Rodau sai	339	Se raser	Kor
304	Saison		340	Etre en bonne	
	chaude	Rodau tan		santé	
305	Saison de		341	Etre malade	Krat
	pluie	Rodau khma	342	Avoir la	
306	Aller	Chen		fièvre	It
307	Venir	Yip	343	Avoir la diar-	
308	Aller en			rhée	Chus It
	cheval	Chen sés	344	Aller à la	
309	Aller à pied	Chen Sing		selle	Kat It
310	Courir	Tan tu	445	Uriner	Klum
311	Se lever	Kûs kanling	346	Petite vérole	
312	S'asseoir	Kôl	347	Médecin	
313	Se coucher	Thëk	348	Remède	
314	Dormir	Thëk Lók	349	Aveugle	Klo
315	S'éveiller	Krasu :	350	Sourd	Klók :
316	Voir	Ngë	351	Muet	
317	Etendre	Song	352	Boiteux	Lut Sing

353	Bossu	Kur	1	Moi
354	Naitre	Oi	2	Par
355	Se marier		3	Phe :
	(homme)	Oi chnung	4	Phôn
356	Se marier		5	Pram
	(femme)	Oi Llong	6	Krâng (krong)
357	Accoucher	Samral Khên	7	Knul
358	Mourir	Hoit	8	Kârtei
359	Enterrer le		9	Kănsar
	cadavre	Tup Khmui	10	Rai
360	Brûler le		11	Rai moi
	cadavre	Thut khmui	15	Rai tom ou dom
361	Avoir peur	Tong	20	Par Ksé
362	Voler (déro-		21	Par Ksé moi
	ber)	Kue	30	Phe : Ksé
363	Tuer	Dohui	40	Phan Ksé
364	Blanc	Phru :	50	Pram Ksé
365	Noir	Thang	60	Krâng Ksé
366	Jaune		70	Knul Ksé
367	Vert		80	Kartei Ksé
368	Rouge	Sarrh:	90	Kănsar Ksé
369	Bleu	Uett	100	Moi Tchou

Où est le village ?

Phum jăk dôi ni ?

Le village est loin d'ici

Phum jăk măt inan.

Comment s'appelle le village ?

Phum mih bi ?

Combien y a-t-il d'habitants ?

Kho réas muoi y ?

Je veux acheter deux cochons  
5 poulets, 12 œufs

Tug vat deu srok pâr, lek  
pram tung rai pâr.

Où est le chemin pour aller  
au village ?

Kră ni cheu plum ou khra an  
cheu phum ni.

Avez-vous du riz à vendre ?

Sakô : rokoh tôkor (Bo kor  
Kota Koh.

Comment faites-vous les  
rizières ?

Tô sré rua y (Bo dô sée yongy)

Où allez vous ?

Sak cheu ni ?

A qui est cette maison ?

Tong an den me non (tong au  
tong menan.

Aller appeler le chef du vil- lage	Chêu Khêu Mésruk.
Y a-t-il des malades ici ?	Hin koh nok kat kor (Phokal nokoh).
Comment vous portez vous ?	Săk soc sabai hǎ ?
Allez me chercher du riz :	Săk chău thiêt rokôh.
Combien coute le riz ?	Rokoh thăi muoi y.
Comment s'appelle le chef du village ?	Mésruk mih bi ?
Avez vous des cochons ?	Sak Koh srok hor. ?
Votre père est il encore bien portant ?	Ou nak sok sabai hor ?
Le jardin de mon père est grand	Suon ou in tak.
Il n'y a pas la voiture à bœuf dans le village ?	Yak rés phum in akhor rotéas troi bor ?
Il y a beaucoup de cerfs ici.	Hin koh kadanh klain ?
Nous ne savons pas écrire	Yau okar sau ci hor.
Allez dans la forêt	Sak chêu rû pri.
Nous avons trois éléphants C'est fini	Yan Koh khrai phé : Mat thoi.
La femme du Mésrok à six enfants	Chûn Mèsruk koh khén krong.
L'eau de la rivière est elle bonne	Tha prek chum nokoh.
Combien y a-t-il à d'ici Sreyteng Yor	Inauh di Sretengyor mêt mihi ?
La maison du Mésrok est grande ?	Tong Mésruk tăk.
La maison du Mésrok est petite	Tong Mésruk Kit.
Y-a-t-il des poissons dans la rivière ?	Prek khor mel no kho ?
Oui il y en a ; Non il n'y en a pas.	Koh leu ; & koh hô.

Comment s'appelle cette rivière ?	Prek mih pi.
Le Mésruk a-t-il beaucoup de bœufs ?	Mésruk koh troi no koh (lokoh).
Oui il en a beaucoup : il n'en a pas beaucoup ?	Koh Kain ; â kohô kain hô.
Le soleil se lève	Thugi rali.
Il est midi	Thugi Tôl,
C'est l'après midi	Thugi Résiel.
C'est le soir	Thugi Maug Pér.
Y a-t-il des aréquiers des cocotiers dans le village	Ré phum koh thémm Sla ; thémm dung lo koh.
Oui il y en a	Koh,
Non il n'y en a pas	A koh hô.
Donnez moi un guide pour me rendre au village	Hom ign nam khra moi nak ign som cheu ni phum.
Je donne l'ordre au village de me fournir deux cochon	Hom ign nom sambat ni phum thoit igni srok pâc.
Le soir venez ici.	Thugi résiel sam yip klănăn.

## Some Archaeological Notes on Monthon Puket.

[ W. WALTER BOURKE. ]

During my three years residence in Monthon Puket, I frequently came across ancient remains or other evidences of the former inhabitants of the land, and a brief description of some of these may possibly be of interest or use to Archaeologists, the more especially, as Monthon Puket is a part of the Malay Peninsula but little known to Europeans.

Monthon Puket consists of a long strip of land bounded on the south by the Malay state of Satul in about 7 deg Lat. N., on the east by the main ridge of mountains forming the backbone of the peninsula, on the north by the Pakchan estuary and Chumpawn in about 10 deg. 30 min : Lat : N., and on the west by the sea ; comprising a total length of about 220 miles, and of a width varying from 15 to 40 miles.

Tin is found in every part of the Monthon (Province), in varying quantities, with the exception of Krabi. In Monthon Puket, the tin districts are all near the coast, and there are great facilities for transport by water, in the Federated Malay States further south, however, the tin districts are farther from the coast than those in Monthon Puket and not so easily accessible.

A most noticeable fact in Monthon Puket is the extensive distribution of ancient workings for tin, these ancient workings are found from one end of the Monthon to the other, viz : in Muangs Renong, Takuapa, Panga, Puket, and Trang. Ancient workings are also found in the Federated Malay States, but only to a limited extent, probably on account of the tin districts there not being so easily accessible as those in Monthon Puket further north. The ancient workings are of two types, viz : shaft workings, and open cast or " paddock " workings.

### (1) Shaft workings.

The shaft workings consist of narrow round vertical shafts sunk through the overburden, which is usually from 20 to 40 feet thick, to reach the " Karang " or tin bearing gravel (termed in Siamese " Krasa " ကြာဆာ) These shafts are usually

more or less bell shaped at the bottom in order to extract as much as possible of the tin bearing gravel without the ground falling in on the miners ; and as a general rule have been sunk quite close together, sometimes as near as to be only from 12 to 15 feet centre to centre. In some places, probably richer spots, the whole surface of the ground is honeycombed by these shafts.

The shaft workings in some districts appear to be of greater antiquity than those in other districts, for instance, there are shaft workings in Muang Puket and Trang on the lower slopes of hills which are still more or less intact, and the shaft holes are often quite 20 feet deep or more ; while in other places, such as in the Tai Muang and Bangklee districts the old shafts are only traceable by circular depressions left on the surface. There is no local tradition as to who worked tin by means of these shafts, the only reply obtainable to all enquiries being that they were made by the "Kon borahn" (คนโบราณ) lit: "the ancients"

Tin has been coming out of Muangs Puket, Panga, and Takuapa for several hundred years, according to references in old histories and voyages, and as far as I have been able to ascertain was chiefly washed out of streams, or obtained by "lampan" or ground sluicing workings (Siamese "Muang Laan" เหมือง แล่น)

I have never seen any Siamese working by shafts for tin and have never been able to definitely ascertain whether the Siamese ever did work for tin by means of shafts or not ; but I rather incline to the view that they formerly did so to a limited extent. In this connection, I may mention that the old shaft workings which occur in the Federated Malay States are known by the Malays as "Lumbong Siam" which may be translated as "Siamese Mines," though whether the term as so applied is justified or not by facts, I do not know.

The Siamese have only been in more or less effective occupation of Monthon Puket since the first half of the 17th Century, and during the period that has elapsed from then till now, the amount of mining work done by the small and scattered population, harassed as it was by occasional incursions of the Burmese, cannot have been very great. On the other hand, the remains of old shaft workings are not only widely distributed, but also in places very extensive, for instance, the whole coast line from the Straits of Pak Pra up

to Tungmaprauw in Muang Panga is riddled by these ancient shaft workings on so large a scale as to prove that there must formerly have been a large and industrious mining population settled there, for a considerable period of time, which conclusion is further borne out by the presence of large quantities of ancient slag from tin smelting which is found in various places close to these ancient workings, particularly in the district just mentioned, and in other parts of Muang Panga, as well as in Muang Puket, Takuapa, and Trang. This old slag still contains a large amount of tin, and is collected by the people and resmelted.

Ingots of tin of a peculiar hemispherical shape have also been found in Muangs Takuapa, Panga, and Puket; and small ingots of tin of a long narrow shape have been found in Muang Trang, leading to the supposition that these ingots may have either been abandoned in haste, or buried in time of war.

The places where these old shaft workings occur, and the old slag is found, are, especially in Muangs Takuapa and Panga, covered with virgin forest at least several hundred years old; leading one to conclude, that most of these old workings, and those in the Takuatung district in particular were certainly not made by the Siamese, who, after all, are an agricultural as opposed to an industrial people. When however, the undoubtedly Indian remains found scattered over Monthon Puket, together with the fact that from a remote period the Indians had trading connections of an intimate nature with the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Java, are taken into consideration, one is irresistibly led to the conclusion that these old workings, or at any rate, the greater part of them, were made by the Indians who came to this coast, primarily to seek tin, but who probably also formed agricultural settlements where conditions were favourable, more particularly in Muang Krabi and Trang, both of which subdivisions of the Monthon or Province contain fairly large tracts of good agricultural land. In this connection it may be of interest to mention that I have occasionally noticed inhabitants of Monthon Puket of a very dark type, darker than the ordinary Siamese, and with an Indian cast to their features; also that in out of the way parts of Talung and Takuatung some few of the men do not cut their hair, but wear it long and coil it at the back of the head in a similar manner to the way the Tamils wear their hair.



## (2) Open cast or "Paddock" workings.

There is only one place in Monthon Puket known to me where there are remains of ancient open cast workings, viz: in the Bangklee district right on the west coast of Muang Panga. These open cast workings which are of a very extensive nature are found in the same locality as the extensive ancient shaft workings already referred to, but may possibly be of later date. As far as I know, the Chinese who came to Monthon Puket have never worked tin by means of shafts, it is only quite recently that a few Macao Chinese have done shafting work in Puket, it was the same in the Federated Malay States, no shafting work was ever done by Chinese until some Chinese who had learnt the work in Australia introduced it there. Even now the Hokkien Chinese who comprise the bulk of the Chinese population in Monthon Puket will never work underground, such work is always done by Macaos. Moreover, as far as I know the Indians never worked mines by the open cast method, but always by shafts. It therefore, seems to me an open question as to whether these open cast workings were made by the Indians, or by Chinese of the earlier period of Chinese immigration into Siam; they were certainly not made by the Chinese of the present period of immigration for the Chinese have only been carrying on tin mining in Muang Panga for about the last 100 years, and these old open cast workings are covered with big virgin jungle several hundred years old. There is no local tradition as to whom these old workings were made by, beyond the usual reply "kon borahn tam" (the ancients made then). In his connection, Colonel Gerini informs me that the emigration of Chinese from China was stopped by the Chinese Government about the last quarter of the seventeenth Century, so that these workings, if made by Chinese must have been prior to above 1700 A. D.

Whole pieces and fragments of pottery are frequently found in this locality, and I obtained one whole piece of China, apparently a ricebowl,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. diam. and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. high, with a crude hand painted ornamentation on the outside in dull red and green, the inside decorated with an edging round the brim of a geometrical pattern  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide in blue, and the bottom with a lotus also in blue, the glaze is thick on the inside of the bowl. It is clearly not Sawankaloke ware, but my knowledge is insufficient to enable me to express any opinion as to its probable age and place of manufacture. It is my in-

tention, however, to submit this bowl to the examination of experts, in order to obtain definite information about it, which may throw some light on the origin of these open cast workings.

The next important fact from an archaeological point of view is the widespread distribution of undoubtedly Indian remains, which are found from Muang Takuapa on the north to Muang Trang on the south.

#### INDIAN REMAINS.

The most important Indian remains have been found in Muang Takuapa, and indeed the geographical situation and natural advantages of Muang Takuapa are such as to lead to the conclusion that it must undoubtedly have been a place of considerable commercial importance in the past.

Takuapa harbour is the finest in the whole Monthon, being absolutely landlocked, and affording complete shelter in either monsoon. The inland water communications, afforded, before the Chinese silted up the rivers with tailings during the last 30 years, great facilities for water transport; it having been possible within the memory of men now living, for good sized boats to go right up to Pong (ป๋อง) which is situated at the foot of the mountains right in the interior,

The former route for the tribute tin sent to Bangkok was via Takuapa and across the central range of the peninsula to the Bandon river and thence by boats to Bandon, and it is quite possible that this route may have been a trade route in the time of the Indian Settlements in Muang Takuapa.

Takuapa, moreover, abounds in tin, both in the districts near the coast and right in the interior; which in itself, would have been sufficient inducement for the Indians to have made more or less extensive settlements in the country.

The Indian remains in Muang Takuapa, are found on the islands at the mouth of the Takuapa river, also at Kou Pra Narai and at Pong, both on the Takuapa river inland, the location of these remains can be clearly seen from the map accompanying this paper.

The remains at the mouth of the Takuapa river consist of the following ;—

(1) An ancient fourarmed stone statue locally known as "Pra Nur" (พระเพน) on the summit of a hill overlooking the

sea at the southernmost entrance to the Takuapa river situated on a piece of land called " Kaw Larn " (เกาะ ลัน). This place is reached by means of a small creek called " Klong Nur " (คลอง นูร ) which flows into the river near the Pak Kih entrance, this small creek is only about 12 feet wide at its mouth and much obstructed by fallen trees; after going up the creek though a mangrove swamp for about 10 minutes, the landing is reached, close to the foot of the hill, which is roughly about 200 feet high and densely wooded. The summit of the hill is levelled off and forms a platform about 55 feet wide by 75 or 80 feet long, with a raised brick platform in the middle about 25 feet square on which stands the ancient stone figure, or rather the remains of it for it is much broken and injured.

The statue which is fourarmed, represents a man standing, clad apparently in a single garment resembling a Burmese Lungyee, with the torso bare, and wearing a high round cap resembling a Turkish fez but without a tassel. It is made of a dense compact bluish grey stone apparently somewhat similar to that of which the figures at Kou Pra Narai are made.

The figure is a little larger than life size, and is broken off just above the waist, the height from the top of the pedestal to the waist where broken off is 3 ft. 9 in. The Pedestal is 8 in. thick and 30 in. wide. A photograph of this figure taken by myself has been given given to the Society. The workmanship and execution of the figure are excellent but without the elaborate ornamentation of Kou Pra Narai figures.

The hill has steep sides all round except on the N. E. where the slope is easier, being only from 12 to 15 degrees, and on the ridge of this slope there are the remains of an old stairway, consisting of brick steps, now entirely grown over by jungle, the level ground at the top of the hill had been cleared, but the sides of the hill are densely wooded, although few of the trees are of large size. I was unable to make more than a very cursory examination as it is only possible to ascend or descend the creek leading to the main river at or near high tide and it was therefore necessary to hurry away for fear of being left stranded and unable to get away.

A curious point with regard to this figure is that it faces N. E. and the side of the raised brick platform on which it stands is not due North and South, but bears 22 deg : east of north ( Magnetic ).

Phra Pon, the Governor of Takuapa, informed me that about the year 1899 A. D. some Chinese were working a mine at the base of the hill on which the figure stands, and that one of their number dreamt that there was treasure under the figure, so they moved the figure and dug up the place where it had stood, but found nothing except some old jars for their pains, so they replaced these and the figure again in their former position.

(2) North of and on the opposite side of the river to this hill, and situated on the large island between the Pak Kaw and Pak Kruen inlets, is a place called "Tung Teuk" (ตุงเต็ก) or literally "the plain of brick (or stone) houses". I was not able to visit this place myself, but was informed by the local inhabitants that there are numerous remains of ancient brick houses or temples and of tanks there. They say that the Chinese worked tin mines close to these remains, but that the "spirits" or "local genii" became angry causing many men to die, so they desisted from working there.

(3) On the west coast of Kaw Pra Tawng there is a place called "Hin Kong" (หินกอง), lit: "heap of stone" the local legend concerning this place is that formerly there was an image or "Roop" (รูป) there which was of such a nature that if any one touched it he forthwith died, so the image was covered up with stones and now there is no one left living who knows where the exact position of this image is.

Many years ago, when working a mine on the east side of Kaw Pra Tawng (เกาะพระทอง) a number of small gold ornaments were found about 2 or 3 sok beneath the surface, I was unable, however, to obtain any of these ornaments, so it is not possible to have any idea as to their origin.

#### INDIAN REMAINS AT KOU PRA NARAI (เกาะพระนารายณ์)

Kou Pra Narai is situated on the Takuapa river above 3 or 4 hours journey from Takuapa Town. The remains at Kou Phra Narai consist of three stone figures, presumably those of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; which are now lying against two large trees on the bank of the river close to the foot of Kou Phra Narai itself.

These stone figures or "Tewaroop" (เทวรูป) are made from a dense grey stone, they are four armed and of more than

life size. The stone from which they are made does not, as far as I know, occur in Monthon Puket. I consider that these figures and that at Klong Nur were in all probably brought from India, not made locally.

The figures are of beautiful workmanship with well shaped features and highly elaborate ornamentation, but are very much broken and injured owing to the trees against which they were stood having to some extent grown over them, and also broken portions off from them, as can be seen from the photograph of these figures accompanying this paper. The local legend with regard to them runs as follows:—

Formerly these three "Tewaroop" together with an ancient inscribed stone were all on a piece of levelled ground on the top of Kou Pra Narai, where there was also a quantity of old bricks and lime; but at the time of the Burmese invasion about 110 years ago, the Burmese brought these stone figures and the inscribed stone down from the hill to the place where the figures now are, with the intention of taking them back with them to Burma; but, although it was in the dry season or N. E. monsoon, such heavy rain and floods ensued that they were unable to remove them and had to return to Burma without them. The Stone figures were left by the Burmese leaning against two young trees near the river bank, which trees grew up to a large size and by their growth have partly buried and considerably damaged the figures. The inscribed stone was subsequently taken by the Siamese to Wat Weeang (วัดเวียง) which was near to Kou Pra Narai, and from thence the inscribed stone was taken to Wat Na Muang (วัดนาเมือง) opposite to Takuapa Town, where it was seen and measured by me. (see the drawing accompanying this paper) The top left hand corner of the stone has been broken off a little, but otherwise it is in excellent preservation. It is a piece of naturally waterworn slate without any surface dressing or working whatever, about 3 ft. high by 2 ft. 1½ in. wide, and about 8 in. through at its thickest part; one surface is nearly flat being only gently rounded, and on this there are six lines of inscription in a very fair state of preservation. I made a copy of the first two lines of the inscription which is reproduced in the drawing accompanying this paper, and I also made a papier maché squeezing of the whole six lines of inscription, which has been submitted to Colonel Gerini, who is of the opinion that it probably belongs to the 3rd or 4th century of the Christian Era, Colonel Gerini has sent the squeezing to Dr. Kern of Leyden

who has been unable to decipher it, Dr. Kern however is of the opinion that it is not Sanskrit, but as far as he could make out was in ancient Tamil. The squeezing has now gone to The Royal Asiatic Society in London, and when it has been deciphered, an interesting light will undoubtedly be thrown on the ancient history of Muang Takuapa.

#### REMAINS AT PONG. (၂၃)

Pong is situated right at the foot of the range of mountains forming the backbone of the peninsula, on the head waters of the Takuapa river. The remains found at Pong, although not of so important a nature as those at Kou Phra Narai, are yet of some interest.

A large quantity of ancient slag was found at Pong which was collected and remelted, some old ingots of tin of a shape approximating to a segment of a sphere were found in this locality, one specimen in the museum of the Royal Department of Mines, Puket, is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in diam : and about  $1\frac{5}{8}$ ths in. thick, and weighs 5 catties 2 tamlung.

About 40 years ago, in the course of working a mine at Pong, an old ship was discovered buried about 12 feet under ground, this ship was about 11 wah or 74 feet long, and there were the remains of an iron chain and iron anchor attached to the ship on the upstream side ; the natural supposition is that this old ship was in some manner sunk while at anchor in the former channel of the river, which at that time must have run in a different bed, and the ship was gradually covered up and buried by silt. The size of this ship is very suggestive, and points to the supposition that at the period this ancient ship ascended the Takuapa river, the river was navigable for large boats for a much greater distance from its mouth than it has been within say the last 50 years.

There are many indications throughout the Malay Peninsula that the level of the land has been very appreciably lower than it is now during quite recent geological times. At the mouth of the Takuapa river itself there is a raised beach with the sea shells on it so fresh that they still in most cases retain their colours unimpaired. (see map) I consider it highly probable that at the time that the Indian influences in Monthon Puket were at their height, say about 1,000 years ago or more, the level of the land in Monthon Puket was appreciably lower than it is at present, although until a careful series of

detailed observations has been taken, it would not be possible to form any estimate of the amount of the change of level since that time.

A large number of brass trays and other utensils were also dug up in the Pong district, one specimen of a brass tray so found is now in the museum of the Royal Department of Mines, Puket, and is apparently of Indian origin. It is made of brass about  $1/16$ th of an inch thick, the outside diameter over the flat rim is 23 inches, and the inside diameter  $18\frac{1}{8}$ th inches, with a dept of  $1\frac{1}{8}$ th in.

Numerous small articles and gold ornaments and images have also been found at Pong at various times, but I was unable to obtain any specimens of them.

I was informed by an old resident of the Pong district that before about 40 or 50 years ago there were no people living in the Pong district as it was all virgin jungle and they were afraid of the wild elephants.

An ancient silver coin was once found in a mine not far from Takuapa Town, and was presented to His Majesty the King. It would be interesting to know the character and age of this coin.

#### REMAINS IN MUANG PANGA.

Beyond the extensive ancient workings in the Tai Muang and Bangklee districts, and the China bowl found there already referred to, I came across nothing of any archaeological importance in Muang Panga; but I have been informed by Colonel Gerini that some years ago an ancient bronze Buddha with a Sanscrit inscription was found in Muang Takuatung, but the locality is not known to him, it would be very interesting to know exactly where this Buddha did come from. Ancient shaft workings are found scattered over the greater part of Muang Panga. Various gold ornaments and other small articles have occasionally been found when working the mines, but I was unable to obtain any specimens of such.

#### REMAINS IN MUANG KRABI.

Krabi is but little known to me, I possess however, a few beads from the locality of Klong Auleuk which seem to be of Indian origin. I have also received circumstantial details of a rock inscription with a figure of a man with a bull or buffalo, and three lines of inscription in some

unknown characters, said to be on a rock close to the sea at Kou Laam in Tambun Karote (เขาหลวง ตำบล กาโรต) but so far I have never had an opportunity of visiting this place.

Krabi is a good agricultural country and it is highly probable that there may have been extensive agricultural settlements of Indians there.

#### REMAINS IN MUANG PUKET.

There are old workings found from one end of Puket island to the other, and I am convinced that it was at one time under Indian influences, but so far, I have not come across anything which can be said to be definite evidence of an Indian occupation of the island. I have received accounts, however, from eyewitnesses of a rock inscription in some unknown characters, different from Siamese, supposed to be in Kou Nang Pan-Thurat; but I have never been able to go myself to verify the statements of my informants. The natives say the place of the inscription is difficult to find, and can only be found, as a rule, if one happens to lose oneself on the mountain.

An interesting point, however, is the discovery of an old iron anchor and chain dug up at a mine on the way to Kathoo and of an old ship about 10 or 12 wah long dug up in a mine at Lawlong many years ago; as appearing to strengthen the conclusion already arrived at with regard to Takuapa viz: that the level of the land in Monthon Puket must have been appreciably lower than it is now within historical times

A brickwork Prachadee was dug up at Tungtong near Ban Kai many years ago, but I have been unable as yet to obtain any details concerning it.

A very interesting find that I came across was that of some Sawankaloke ware that had been dug up in a mine near Sapam, buried about 10 or 12 feet underground; the piece I have is about 5½ths in. diameter and 2 in. high, it was found with about 8 or 9 others all unbroken, I think it is possible that they may have fallen off some old trading ship into a creek and thus escaped fracture. Formerly there was a good sized creek at Sapam and it is most probable that it has changed its channel in the course of time, and that the tin mine was actually working in the former bed of the creek when the pieces of Sawankaloke ware were found.



Polished stone "celts" or Neolithic flint implements are occasionally found on the fields both in Puket Island, and in the Takuatung district, they are locally known as "Hin Fwan Fwa" (หิน ฟัน ฟัว) and are supposed to fall to the earth when it thunders and lightens. They are considered to be a most valuable medicine, and are powdered and taken as a specific in various ailments. It is therefore difficult to obtain specimens, but from the fragment I have obtained and from the description of them given by the local inhabitants they appear to be mostly axe heads. The piece of an axe head I possess, is made from a brownish yellow flint; I have never come across any stone like it in Monthon Puket.

#### TRACES OF PORTUGUESE INFLUENCES.

There are traditions still extant in Puket regarding the Portuguese trading posts that were at one time established there. At Tharua there is a levelled piece of land which they call the "Talat Farang" or "Foreigner's Market"; and descendants of the early Portuguese settlers are still to be found in the Talang and Takuatung districts. They have more hair on the face than is usual among Siamese, and often have large moustachios; they are as a rule fairer than the ordinary people, and there is a more or less European cast to their features. I am informed that they do not profess Buddhism, and appear to be without any definite religion, but do not work on Sundays, and reverence Fridays as a holy day. Their numbers are now small.

There are the brickwork remains of a fort on Kaw Tapou Noi (เกาะ ตระกาศ น้อย) in Puket harbour which I have seen from a distance, but never examined, so am unable to give any information about them, they may possibly, however, be the remains of a Portuguese fort.

#### REMAINS IN MUANG TRANG.

The Indian remains in Trang are of considerable interest: they consist of certain unbaked clay sacrificial tablets found in limestone caves, and of the remains of the brickwork of ancient temples.

These unbaked clay tablets, which are known locally as "Pra Pim" (พระ พิมพ์) lit: "stamped image" are flat in shape, ranging from about 3in to 5 in long, from 2in to 3in wide, and about 1 in thick. They have been stamped on one

side with figures of Indian Divinities or of Buddha, and on the back in some cases with Buddhist texts in Sanscrit characters. They are found put face to face and laid in rows in great numbers in the caves at Wat Harn (วัด หาร์) and "Tam Kow Sai" (ถ้ำ กวซาย) which caves are situated not very far from the Trang river north of Kouantani. They must have lain undisturbed in those caves for a very long period of time for they all are covered up by a deposit of bat guano. It was owing to the Chinese pepper planters working these bat guano deposits in the limestone caves that the existence of these clay tablets first became known. When first taken from the cave, the tablets are quite wet and soft, but soon harden in the sun. There are four different kinds of clay tablets in the cave at Wat Harn, and over six different kinds in the cave at Tam Kou Sai. The tablets from the cave at Tam Kou Sai are different to those from the cave at Wat Harn.

From the type of the Sanscrit character employed, Colonel Gerini places their approximate age at about eight hundred years or about the 11th century.

There is also a cave in Trang where there are immense quantities of the round clay balls used for shooting from a bow, but I have not visited the cave myself.

At another cave which I have also not visited, there are ancient Buddhas of Indian type, and the remains of ancient brickwork, with large sized bricks. These last two localities were visited by Mr. Steffen, who formerly resided in Trang for some time.

Mr. Steffen also informed me that in the mountains in Trang, he had come across a solitary stone pillar, with some carved representation on the top, similar to the temple pillars in India, but there was no inscription on it. The local superstition with regard to these clay tablets is that they are made by the "spirits" and that no matter how many tablets may be removed from the caves, the spirits make new ones to take their place.

The tin district in Trang is limited in extent, and the ancient workings not on a very large scale. I am of the opinion that there were agricultural settlements in Trang at the time of the Indians, and that the route to Patalung through Trang was probably one of the important trade routes across the peninsula. The mountain passes are not high, and local

traditions are to the effect that the Indians who first settled in Trang subsequently passed over to the Patalung side, possibly on account of hostile incursions from Sumatra into Trang.

There is a limestone cave at Kou Sabab on the Trang river where there are the remains of an old Buddha, and an inscription in Siamese written in red paint on a smooth face of rock near the mouth of the cave; it describes how certain monks had gone there to exalt the religion of the Lord Buddha and how a Buddha had been made, the date given in the inscription fixes the age of the same at 1614 A. D. This is of interest as giving a definite date at which the Siamese were in occupation of Trang,

In conclusion, I take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of obligation to my learned friend Colonel Gerini, who has given me the greatest assistance in the preparation of this paper, and to whose influence is principally due the interest I have taken in Siamese Archaeology; and to Mr. Giblin, Director of the Royal Survey Department, who has taken great trouble and done his utmost to help me in every way, as the beautifully printed maps and drawing accompanying this paper will show.

A supposed Dutch Translation of a Siamese  
State Paper in 1688.

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The Siamese Embassy which was sent in 1686 by King Narayana to the Court of France attracted a great deal of attention, and a full account of what the Ambassadors did in France and what they saw, together with the remarks they made, was published in Paris and Lyons in 4 small 12° volumes as an extract from the *Mercure Galant*.

The exact title runs :

“ VOYAGE  
DES  
AMBASSADEURS  
DE SIAM  
EN FRANCE

Contenant la Reception qui leur a esté faite dans les Villes où ils ont passé, leur Entrée à Paris, les Ceremonies observées dans l'Audience qu'ils ont eue du Roy & de la Maison Royale, les Complimens qu'ils ont faits, la Description des Lieux où ils ont esté, & ce qu'ils ont dit de remarquable sur tout ce qu'ils ont veu.

A PARIS

AV PALAIS

( VERSO. )

A PARIS,

Chez G. DE LUYNE, au Palais, dans la Salle des Merciers, à la Justice.

Chez la Veuve C. BLAGEART, Court-Neuve du Palais, AU DAUPHIN.

Et T. GIRARD, au Palais, dans la Grande Salle, à l'Envie.

M. DC. LXXXVI.

*Avec Privilege du Roi.*”

The Lyons edition is identical with the Paris one, with the sole exception that the dedicatory epistles accompanying each volume are different.

The book was frequently quoted in the eighteenth century in descriptions of Siam, and there existed amongst others also a German translation under the title of :—

“Reyssbeschreibung der ‘Abgesandten von Siam in Frankreich. Inhaltend wie dieselbe in den Städten ihrer Durchreyse empfangen worden, deren Einzug zu l’aris, die Ceremonien, so in der ihnen von dem König, auch dem königl. Haus ertheilten Audienz observirt worden, ihre Complimenten etc. aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzt. Frankfurt, A. M., 1687. 12. I. II. III. IV. Theil.”

The account, it is true, must be considered as an eulogy of Louis XIV. and his Court, and the sayings of the Ambassadors must as regards their genuineness be taken cum grano salis.

Nothing is apparently known of any account which the Ambassadors made on their return to Siam, although in the French records “the notes which the Secretaries took of everything they saw” are continually referred to.

Whether the Ambassadors in returning to Siam had time to prepare such a report, must remain doubtful. After their return the troublesome times commenced which ended with the overthrow of Constantin Falcon, the death of King Narayana and the ascension of Phra Debraja (the Pitracha of the French records) under the title of Somdet Phra Mahaburus.

It is quite true that the surviving Ambassador sided with Phra Debraja, by whom he was employed in carrying out the somewhat intricate negotiations with the French garrison and factory; so it is possible that a report regarding his previous mission might have been made. Unfortunately, however, through the sack and destruction of Ayuddhya in 1762 all documents kept in the Archives of the State were destroyed.

Now in 1688 there was published in Batavia a book under the title of :—

## “ VERHAAL

Dat de Ambassadeurs van  
Siam

Aan haar Koning gedaan hebben van't geen zij in  
Frankrijk vernomen hebben van de algemeene  
toestant van Europa, van de manier van  
regeren en de hoedanigheden van  
ijder Christen Vorst, en andere  
bijzonderheden rakende  
het Christendom.

Uyt het Siams vertaalt.

Gedrukt in Batavia MDCLXXXVIII.”

There existed thus a faint hope, that we should find in the Dutch document the lost Siamese state paper.

A glance at the contents of the book, which was acquired for the Library of the Ministry of the Interior, showed this hope to be fallacious.

With a view to getting, however, the fullest information possible, His Royal Highness Prince Damrong caused a letter of enquiry to be written to the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen,” and with their usual courtesy an answer was returned by Doctor F. de Haan, which we are enabled to reproduce.

Dr. de Haan, writes under date of July 24th, 1905.

“ Nothing is known in particular about the Verhaal as printed at Batavia in 1688. In the ‘Daghregister gehouden in 't Kasteel Batavia’ an entry is made under date of February 3rd, 1688, regarding the receipt of a letter from the factory of Siam dated December 23rd, 1687, in which the return of the Ambassadors of Siam from the Court of Louis XIV. is mentioned.

On the 8th December, 1688, a second letter is registered containing the announcement of the death of the King.

The book in question must therefore have been written between February 3rd, and December 9th, 1688.

The contents of the book make it highly improbable, that it should have been written by one of the Siamese Ambassadors, the more so as in the 'Daghregister' no mention is made of any such report having been sent to Batavia.

The book reveals a more than superficial knowledge of European policy. A Siamese Ambassador would certainly not have learnt such an unbiased judgment at the Court of Versailles.

Furthermore the quotation on page 20 of a saying of the Byzantine Emperor Nicophoros is not likely to have been made by a Siamese Ambassador, nor would he enumerate famous names of antiquity as he does on page 29.

It is not credible that the Ambassador would have mentioned the sonde (sin) of living with more than one wife, as he does on page 6. The pages 18 and 19 show a remarkable knowledge of Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales* in explaining the practice of the Jesuits.

The book, it appears, is written by a Calvinist. If a guess at the authorship may be ventured it would be that of Governor-General Johannes Camphuys (1684-1691), who was a somewhat prolific writer, and whose moderate views would agree well with the unprejudiced consideration of the papistic King James II. of England on page 12. This authorship would probably explain the anonymity of the work."

[ O. F. ]

The Society has to deplore the death of its Honorary Member, Geheimrat Bastian, who died in Port of Spain on February 3rd, 1905. He died in full harness, being then on his eighth journey of exploration, which had brought him to the West Indies. He had reached Trinidad in good health; there he complained of fatigue, an unusual thing with him, and within six days he died. A lonely wanderer, he was buried in Port of Spain; following him to the grave was only his writer, and it apparently took three weeks before the news reached Europe.

He died at the ripe age of 79 being born in Bremen on the 26th June, 1826. Whilst at the University he studied law, natural science and medicine, and in the year 1849 during his last term at the University of Würzburg he heard the lectures of Professor Virchow, with whom he was instrumental in later years in founding with others the Anthropological Society of Berlin, the youngest perhaps but not the least of the societies devoted to the study of man. After having passed his examination in medicine, he undertook in 1850 his first voyage of exploration, which brought him to Australia. He made the voyage as ship's-surgeon and eight years were occupied by it. The work he published on this voyage showed the whole tendency of his studies, although it was only in 1860 that his great work "*Der Mensch in der Geschichte*" appeared. In 1861 and 1862 he undertook his second great voyage, the results of which he published under the title of "*Die Völker des östlichen Asiens*." It is this work which particularly interests us. A keen and sympathetic observer he described what he saw in these countries and especially in Siam; through the help and assistance of King Mongkut and of the learned Buddhist priests, and of the foreign Missionaries he got a deep insight into folklore, history and religion. This book is a mine of wealth; it ought to have been translated at the time of its appearance, as many often repeated errors have already been refuted in it. He had no special purpose to serve, when he came to Siam; he came there with an unbiased mind and his book is not disfigured by any tendency. Whilst he was in Siam he took an interest in grammar and history, and the studies he published on Burmese and Siamese, on the tones in Siamese, his translation of Siamese inscriptions, his remarks on



Buddhism and on folklore will all have a permanent value. Many explanations are given on obscure points and many fruitful hypotheses are advanced in these pages.

In spite of numerous voyages, in spite of the many countries he saw, of the people whose mind he investigated; he always kept up his interest in Siam and in Buddhism.

Eight long voyages brought him to nearly all parts of the earth; in all these voyages his great aim was to investigate the "soul of the people," the *Völkeridee* as he called it.

Later years will and can only show how fruitful the seed is he has sown.

Many were the pupils whom he influenced and who looked upon him as their teacher. He, however, did not form a "school"; he left everyone to pursue his studies in his own way, and if anything could show the wide influence he exercised, it was the varied contents of the "*Festschrift*" which his numerous friends and pupils dedicated to him on his seventieth birthday, which found him on a journey in the Malay Archipelago.

Between 1880 and 1889 he was in Berlin, and when in 1886 the Museum für Völkerkunde was opened, it was only just that he should become its first Director. Such was the influence he exerted, that willingly or unwillingly travellers brought him numerous gifts, as they were sure to find a worthy place in the Institute under his care.

It does not belong to us to give a judgment on the style of his writings. Certainly they are not easy reading; the wealth of material is too great in them; perhaps they were too quickly written; but they show an uncommonly wide range of learning. There is nothing trivial in any of them, and they are fruitful, of the highest thought on whatever subject they may treat.

It was an honour to our Society when he accepted the post of an Honorary Member, and his memory will

always be cherished by us ; and he may certainly be considered as one of those who exerted their influence in the foundation of the Society. When he received the letter advising him of his appointment, he wrote from Montego Bay, July 30th, 1904.

“ The Honour conferred on me by the Siam Society impresses me the more satisfactorily, as coming from a country dear to my memory, in regard to the manifold information, I have been favoured with during a temporary sojourn in the interest of ethnological studies.”

O. F.

In Memoriam  
Dr. J. E. A. Brandes.

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A few weeks ago notice was received of the death of Dr. Brandes, of Batavia. Dr. Brandes was a prominent Oriental scholar and a corresponding member of our Society; and so our Council has asked me for a short record in memory of our late member.

Like so many other scholars and literary men, Dr. Brandes was the son of a clergyman; he was born in Rotterdam, January 13th, 1857.

Dr. Brandes first studied Theology and afterward Oriental Philology at the University of Leyden, for centuries one of the great centres of Oriental Scholarship. In 1884 he took the degree of a Doctor of Philology of the East Indian Archipelago, with a treatise on *Comparative Phonology of the Western Branch of the Malay-Polynesian Family of Languages*. In this treatise, by applying the methods of modern philology, he reached remarkable results, which drew he attention of Oriental philologists.

Soon after his promotion Dr. Brandes was engaged by the Netherlands Indian Government as an official for studying the native languages, and so he went to Java. He specially devoted himself to the Javanese language and literature. A great deal of our present knowledge, especially of the ancient Javanese literature, we owe to the researches of Dr. Brandes.

In addition to linguistic studies, Dr. Brandes applied himself especially to the archaeology and history of Java, and he was entrusted by the Government with many archaeological investigations.

It is well known that the numerous and wonderful ancient monuments of Java date from a time when the Javanese people for the greatest part were Buddhists or followers of the Hindoo faith. So Dr. Brandes came to devote himself also greatly to the study of Buddhism and Hindooism.

On the subjects of his special studies Dr. Brandes has written numerous publications, a list of which is given below. (taken from Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel's paper on Dr. Brandes Tëdschr. Bat. Gen. 1905.)

Most of Dr. Brandes' papers were published in the Journals of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. This Batavia Society for the promotion of Arts and Sciences is the oldest institution of the kind, not only in the East, but outside of Europe. It was founded in 1778 and has greatly contributed to the scientific exploration of the East Indian Archipelago. For many years Dr. Brandes was a prominent member of the Council of the Batavia Society, and he was in charge of the Society's library, and of the highly valuable manuscripts and unique archaeological collections.

Dr. Brandes specially rendered great services to the Batavia Society in particular and to Oriental learning in general by revising the catalogue of the Society's archaeological collections and by providing it with notes containing reference to the latest scientific researches.

The last publication of Dr. Brandes, on the Tjandi Djago, was the first volume of the new archaeological survey of Java, started a few years ago, under Dr. Brandes' direction, by the Government in co-operation with the Batavia Society and the Royal Institution for Philology, Geography and Ethnography of Netherlands India. This new archaeological survey is intended to deal with the numerous smaller monuments which up to the present have been little brought to notice, the general attention being chiefly reserved for the greater monuments, which have already been surveyed a long time ago.

Dr. Brandes showed his interest in the Siam Society by sending a copy of the volume referred to and also of some other publications, issued under his care since the foundation of this Society. Further he obliged this Society by giving, with great willingness, various information in regard to the subjects of his special studies.

When the King of Siam visited Java, Dr. Brandes had the pleasure of guiding His Majesty through the archaeological collections in Batavia, and so a long time ago he came in contact with this Country, which naturally interested him in connection with his studies.

Dr. Brandes was not one of those popular "*princes de la science*" who promenade their ribbons and orders at every social function. Neither did he try to popularise his science. He was a "*savant*" devoted to his studies and to a few friends, by whom he was highly esteemed not only as a scholar, but also as a noble, single-hearted man.

Dr. Brandes died in Batavia on the 25th of June last, and his death has been a great loss both to Oriental science and to his relations and friends. His work as an Oriental scholar will keep his name in remembrance among Orientalists, and our Society can be proud of having counted him among her corresponding members.

Bangkok :

J. H. v. D. H.

August, 1905.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF  
DR. J. L. A. BRANDES.

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*A. Papers published in the Tijdschrift voor de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, a Journal of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*

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Transscriptie van vier Oud-Javaansche oorkonden op koper, gevonden op het eiland Bali, in samenwerking met Dr. H. N. VAN DER TUUK, deel XXX, bl. 603—624.

Inleiding van de Maleisch-Kissersche woordenlijst door N. RINNOOY, hulpprediker ten dienste der inlandsche christengemeenten der eilanden Roma en Kisser, deel XXXI, bl. 149—214.

Een Nāgari-opschrift, gevonden tusschen Kalasan en Prambanan, *ibid.* bl. 240—261.

Nog eenige sporen van de oudheidkundige verrichtingen van den Luitenant der Genie H. C. CORNELIUS, *ibid.* bl. 597—614.

Een jayapattra of acte van eene rechterlijke uitspraak van Çaka 849, deel XXXII, bl. 98—150.

Naar aanleiding van Prof. A. C. VREEDE's Kantteekeningen, *ibid.* bl. 150—211.

Drie koperen platen uit den Mataramschen tijd, gevonden in de residentie Krawang, *ibid.* bl. 338—362.

Nog iets over een reeds vroeger gepubliceerden piagëm van Sultan Agëng, *ibid.* bl. 363—367.

Iets over een ouderen Dipanëgara in verband met een prototype van de voorspellingen van Jayabaya, *ibid.* bl. 368—431.

De inkt gebezigd voor het schrijven der Oud-Javaansche handschriften uit de 14<sup>e</sup> en 15<sup>e</sup> Çaka-eeuw, *ibid.* bl. 438—440.

Een oud-Javaansch alphabet van Midden-Java, *ibid.* bl. 441—455.

De tekst van de prozabewerking van de Babad Tanah Djawi gecastigeerd, bladvulling (zonder naam), *ibid.* bl. 556.

Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram, Bantën en Palembang, *ibid.* bl. 557—601.

De koperen platen van Sëmbiran (Boeleleng, Bali), oorkonden in het oud-Javaansch, en het oud-Balineesch, deel XXXIII, bl. 16—56.

De huidskleur van de Javanen volgens hen zelf, blad-vulling (zonder naam), *ibid.* bl. 600.

Een nieuwe bewerking van de sërät Aji Saka, blad-vulling, deel XXXIV, bl. 106.

Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram, Bantën en Palembang, (vervolg), *ibid.* bl. 605—625.

Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram, Bantën en Palembang, (tweede vervolg), deel XXXV, bl. 110—127.

Eenige foutieve eigennamen in de door MEINSMA uitgegeven proza-bewerking van den babad tanah Jawi, blad-vulling (zonder naam), *ibid.* bl. 127.

Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram, Bantën en Palembang, (derde vervolg), *ibid.* bl. 209—214.

Een verslag van Professor A. C. VREEDE omtrent eene verzameling Javaansche en Madoereesche handschriften, *ibid.* bl. 443—479.

Een paar bijzonderheden uit een handschrift van de hikajat Kalila dan Damina, deel XXXVI, bl. 394—416.

Nog een Javaansch geheimschrift, bladvulling (zonder naam), *ibid.* bl. 418—419.

Dwerghert-verhalen uit den Archipel. Javaansche verhalen, deel XXXVII, bl. 27—49

Dwerghert-verhalen uit den Archipel. Maleische verhalen, *ibid.* bl. 50—64.

Kaya kumëndur angëdjawa, bladvulling, *ibid.* bl. 112.

Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram, Bantën en Palembang, (vierde vervolg), *ibid.* bl. 119—126.

Dwerghert-verhalen uit den Archipel. Javaansche verhalen. De door de firma G. C. T. VAN DORP te Sëmarang uitgegevene Sërat Kantjil, *ibid.* bl. 127—144.

Verslag over een Babad Balambangan, *ibid.* bl. 325—365.

Dwerghert-verhalen uit den Archipel. Maleische verhalen, *ibid.* bl. 366—389.

Warung, bata en wangan, bladvulling, *ibid.* bl. 400.

Yogyakarta, *ibid.* bl. 415—448.

Eenige officieele stukken met betrekking tot Tjërbon, *ibid.* bl. 449—488.

Een Javaansche preek van den duivel, *ibid.* bl. 506—512.

Nadere opmerkingen over de Maleische bewerkingen van de geschiedenis der tien vizieren, Hikajat Golam (Hik. Zadabaktin, Hik. Azbak), Hik. Kalila dan Damina (laatste gedeelte), en de daarvan te onderscheiden, bij de Maleiers voorhanden uiteenlopende Hikayat's Baktiyar, deel XXXVIII, bl. 191—273.

Nalezing op het verslag over een Babad Balambangan, *ibid.* bl. 283—288.

Uittreksels, 60, ter vergelijking met hetgeen door den heer G. K. NIEMANN gepubliceerd werd uit een hikayat Bayan

budiman in zijne bloemlezing uit Maleische geschriften, ibid. bl. 379—403.

Het Damar Wulan verhaal in lakon vorm, ibid. bl. 457—485.

De maandnaam Hapit, deel XLI, bl. 19—31.

De inhoud van de groote Hikayat Baktiyar, volgens eene aantekening van Dr. H. N. VAN DER TUUK, ibid. bl. 292—299.

Iets over het Papegaaï-Boek, zooals het bij de Maleiers voorkomt, ibid. bl. 431—497.

Bladvulling betreffende het citeeren uit palmbadhand-schriften, deel XLII, bl. 102—104.

Van Oud-Batavia, losse mededeelingen, ibid. bl. 105—130.

Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram, Bantën en Palembang, (vijfde vervolg), ibid. bl. 105—130.

Omina et Portenta, ibid. bl. 323—343.

Aanvulling van het opstel over "Oude woningen in de stad Batavia", van den heer H. D. H. BOSBOOM, ibid. bl. 348—356.

Een hofreis naar Mataram om en bij 1648, bladvulling, ibid. bl. 387—392.

Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram, Bantën en Palembang (zesde vervolg), ibid. bl. 491—507.

Van Oud-Batavia, losse mededeelingen, deel XLIII, bl. 1—35.

Dwerghert-verhalen buiten den Archipel, ibid. bl. 226—248 en 275—289.

Een plattegrond van Batavia, ibid. bl. 249—274.

Arya Penangsang's rechten en pogingen tot herstel daarvan; mededeeling, ibid. bl. 488—491.

Van Oud-Batavia, losse mededeelingen, ibid. bl. 493—553.



Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram Bantën en Palembang (zevende vervolg), *ibid.* bl. 577—582.

Twee oude berichten over de Baraboedoer, deel XLIV, bl. 73—84.

Djakuwés in de Babad tijdens de belegering van Batavia = JACQUES LEBÈVRE, mededeeling, *ibid.* bl. 286—288.

Van Oud-Batavia, losse mededeelingen, deel XLV, bl. 1—29.

Bijschrift bij de door den heer NEEB gezonden photo's van oudheden in het Djambische, *ibid.* bl. 128—133.

Inleiding to de kaart van Oud-Bantën, in gereedheid gebracht door wijlen Mr. L. SERRURIER, *ibid.* bl. 257—262.

Lo TONG, een Javaansche reflex van een Chineeschen ridderroman, *ibid.* bl. 263—271.

Nog eenige Javaansche piagëm's uit het Moham-medaansche tijdvak, afkomstig van Mataram, Bantën en Palembang (achtste vervolg), *ibid.* bl. 272—275.

Van Oud-Batavia, losse mededeelingen, *ibid.* bl. 289—332.

Dwerghert-verhalen uit den Archipel: Javaansche verhalen, deel XLVI, bl. 73—91.

Insluimeren van het gevoel voor de symbolieke waarde van ornament ook in de Chineesche kunst op te merken, *ibid.* bl. 97—107.

Verslag van het Internationaal Oriëntalistencongres te Hanoi van 1—6 December 1902, *ibid.* bl. 481—512.

De waarde van Tjandi Prambanan tegenover de andere oudheden van Java en een hartig woord over de deblayeeing, deel XLVII, bl. 414—432.

Enkele oude stukken, betrekking hebbende op Oud-Javaansche opschriften en bewaard in de Rijks-Universiteits-boekerij te Leiden, *ibid.* bl. 448—460.

Een puzzle opgehelderd (Het Lingga-voetstuk van Singasari), *ibid.* bl. 461—467.

De verzameling gouden godenbeelden gevonden in het

gehucht Gëmoeroeh, bij Wanasaba, en naar aanleiding daarvan iets over Harihara en de geschiedenis van het uiterlijk van Garuda op Java, *ibid.* bl. 552—577.

De makara als haartressieraad, deel XLVIII, bl. 21—36.

Een Buddhistisch monniksbeeld en naar aanleiding daarvan het een en ander over eenige der voornaamste mudra's, *ibid.* bl. 37—56.

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*B. Papers published in the Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*

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Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het boek der koningen van Tumapël en van Madjapahit, uitgegeven en toegelicht. Verh. deel XLIX.

Register op de proza-omzetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi (uitgave van 1874), deel LI, 4<sup>e</sup> stuk.

Nāgarakrētāgama, Lofdicht van Prapanjtja op koning Rasadjanagara, Hajam Wuruk, van Madjapahit, uitgegeven naar het eenige daarvan bekende handschrift aangetroffen in de puri te Tjakranagara op Lombok, deel LIV, 1<sup>e</sup> stuk.

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*C. Papers published in the Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*

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Nota betreffende de verzameling abklatschen van steenopschriften door het eerelid Dr. R. D. M. VERBEEK aan het Genootschap geschonken. Not. 1888, Bijlage II, bl. VII—XIX.

Verslag over een afschrift van twee babad's de babad Bësuki en de babad Bandawasa, ontvangen van den heer H. E. STEINMETZ, Assistent-Resident te Bondowoso. Not. 1893, Bijlage VIII, bl. XLVII—LXXXV.

Verslag over de papieren der békëlan (patinggi) van de wong sawidaksanga in de desa Tjigugur (Mandala, Sukapura, Preanger-Regentschappen), *ibid.* Bijlage XI, bl. XCV—CXVIII.

Toelichting tot de schetstaalkaart van Celebes, samengesteld door deen heer K. F. HOLLE, Not. 1894, Bijlage II, bl. XV—XXXIV.

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Opmerking aangaande een relief aan den buitenkant van de trap van Tjandi Mendoet, Not. 1900, Bijlage X, bl. LXIX—LXXVII.

Nog eens over de beelden van Tjandi Tumpang, Not 1901, Bijlage III, bl. VIII—XXXVI.

Eene fraaie variatie van het olifant-visch of makara-ornament, ibid. Bijlage VI, bl. CIX—CXIX.

Aanvulling van de mededeeling over de in relief afgebeelde dierenfabels op het terrein van Panataran, Not. 1902, Bijlage II, bl. XXIX—XXXV.

Het gevaarvolle van het verklaren van de relieftableaux aan de oude ruïnen op Java te vinden, als men den betrokken tekst niet kent, toegelicht aan een voorbeeld genomen uit de schilderijen aan het pendapa terras te Panataran, ibid. Bijlage III, bl. XXXVI—XLVII.

Over kaarten en platen betreffende Oud-Batavia, ibid. Bijlage V, bl. LI—LXII.

Het olifant- en face stuk op het ruggestuk van No. 262 van de Archaeologische Verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, ibid. Bijlage XI, bl. CI—CIX.

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Nadere mededeelingen over de Tjandi Mendoet, ibid. mededeelingen over de Tjandi Mendoet, ibid. Bijlage XV, bl. CXLI—CLIII.

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Verbetering en aanvulling van de aanteekening bij de Mededeeling over de hoofdbeelden op de voorsprongen van den teerling der Tjandi Mëndoet, Not 1903, Bijlage II, bl. V—XI.

De wedloop van den Garûda met de schildpadden in relief op Midden-Java teruggevonden en eene gissing tot verklaring van de vreemde voorstelling op Oost-Java van de fabel van de ganzen met de schildpad, *ibid.* Bijlage III, bl. XII—XIII.

Het Nirvâna-tooneel en de Baraboedoer, *ibid.* Bijlage VIII, bl. LVI—LX.

Het dak van Tjandi Pawon en de daken der hoofdtempels te Prambanan, Not. 1904, II, bl. XIX—XXII.

Toelichting op het rapport van den Controleur der onderafdeeling Lematang-ilir van de in die stroek aangetroffen oudheden, *ibid.* Bijlage VI, bl. L—LII.

Naschrift op het stuk "Beschuldiging of verdachtmaking" door Dr. J. GRONEMAN, *ibid.* Bijlage XII, bl. XCII—XCIX.

Naar aanleiding der mededeeling, vermeld in Not. 1904, VIII, *ibid.* Bijlage XVI, bl. CXVII—CXLVIII. ( Over eene Holl. vertaling van een babad ).

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*D. Papers published in other Journals.*

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Brief aan den redacteur van het Maandschrift voor de huiselijke opvoeding en het schoolwezen in Ned.-Idië, handelende over de afleiding van eenige Javaansche plaatsnamen. Maandschrift I ( 1886—77 ), bl. 490—504.

Het onderzoek naar den oorsprong van de Maleische hikayat Kalila dan Damina ingeleid; in den Feestbundel aan Prof. M. J. DE GOEJE aangeboden, in 1891, bl. 79—110.

Een relief aan de Tjandi Mëndut en een fabel uit de Tantri, "de brahmaan, de krab, de kraai en de slang"; in den Feestbundel aan Prof. P. J. VETH aangeboden, in 1894, bl. 145—148.

Taal- en Oudheidkunde in Nederlandsche-Indië onder het regentschap van Koningin EMMA, Bat. 1898, bl. 40—56.

Notice sur une espèce ornementale des anciens monuments hindous de Java Central, in: Hommage au Congrès des Orientalists de Hanoi de la part du Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, bl. 7—14.

Une forme verbale particulière du Toumbulu, *ibid.* bl. 44—52.

Het infix *in* niet een infix om passieve vormen te maken, maar de tijdsaanwijzer om aan een vorm de waarde te geven van een gedecideerd afgeloopen handeling, in den Feestbundel aan Prof. H. KERN aangeboden in 1903, bl. 199—204.

KERN en de Archipel, extra Bijvoegsel van de Javabode van 6 April 1903.

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*E. Separate publications.*

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Bijdrage tot de vergelijkende klankleer der Westersche Afdeeling van de Maleisch-Polynesische taalfamilie, Academische Proefschrift, 1884.

Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche handschriften, aangetroffen in de nalatensschap van Dr. H. N. VAN DER TUUK en door hem vermaakt aan de Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek; 1<sup>o</sup> stuk, adigama-ender, 1901, 2<sup>o</sup> stuk, ghatotkatjaçarana-putrupasadji, 1903.

Eenige uiteenzettingen, Batavia, 1802.

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*F. Publications issued in co-operation with others.*

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Aanteekeningen omtrent de op verschillende voorwerpen voorkomende inscripties en een voorloopige inventaris der beschreven steenen, in den Catalogus der Archaeologische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, door W. P. GROENEUESDT, Bat. 1887.

Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, door Dr. H. N. VAN DER TUUK, deel I, a-rangang, 1896, deel II, k-těngange, 1899, deel III s-lengang, 1901; van deel IV is het grootste gedeelte afgedrukt tot in de g.

Rapporten van de Commissie in Ned.-Indië voor Oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera, over 1901, 1902 en 1903. Het rapport over 1904 is voor een groot deel afgedrukt.

Archaeologisch onderzoek op Java en Madura. I. Beschrijving van van de ruïne bij de desa Toempang genoemd Tjandi Djago, in de residentie Pasoeroean, 's Hage en Batavia, 1904. Samengesteld naar de gegevens verstrekt door H. L. LEYDIE MELVILLE en J. KNEBEL.

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## Annual General Meeting of the Society.

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The Annual General Meeting of the Siam Society was held at the Oriental Hôtel, Bangkok, on Monday, January 30th, 1905. The President, Mr. W. R. D. Beckett, was in the Chair, and there were also present :—Colonel Gerini, Dr. O. Frankfurter, Rev. J. Carrington, Dr. T. Masao, Dr. T. Heyward Hays, Messrs. J. Antonio, R. Belhomme, M. E. F. Baird, E. Bock, E. Brande, Th. Collmann, A. Cecil Carter, Frank H. Giles, W. H. Mundie, P. Petithuguenin, and C. H. Ramsay.

The report prepared by Dr. Frankfurter (Hon. Secretary), on the first year's work of the Society, and the statement of the accounts for 1904, prepared by Mr. A. Cecil Carter (Hon. Treasurer), first came up for consideration. These have been printed in Volume I. of this Journal.

MR. GILES suggested that the amount due from members who had not paid should be shown in the accounts as outstandings.

MR. CARTER explained that it had been impossible to get all the subscriptions in before the end of the year, as a good many were elected members only recently, while others did not live in Bangkok. What was shown was the money actually received up to the 31st December.

It was pointed out that as 100 subscriptions had been received, and there were 134 members, the outstandings amounted to Ticals 680.

DR. HAYS moved that the reports be adopted, but that in future the outstandings be shewn in the Treasurer's report.

MR. COLLMANN seconded, and this was carried.

The next business was the election of the Council and officers.

MR. BELHOMME moved, and Mr. Carrington seconded, that the old Council be re-elected, with power to elect its own officers and fill up vacancies.

DR. MASAO moved, and Mr. Ramsay seconded, that the same procedure be followed as at the inaugural meeting and that the officers and Council be elected in the ordinary way.

MR. BELHOMME's proposition was carried.

DR. FRANKFURTER moved that the number of members of Council be increased by two, making the total 15 instead of 13.

MR. CARTER seconded this proposal, and after discussion it was carried.

Half a dozen members were then nominated for the two vacancies, and on a ballot Dr. Hays and Mr. Petithuguenin were elected.

The CHAIRMAN next laid before the meeting a recommendation of the Council that Mr. G. Coates, the German Minister-Resident, be elected an honorary member of the Society. Mr. Coates, he pointed out, practically started the Society, and the Council all thought that the least they could do was to elect him an honorary member.

The proposal was carried unanimously.

MR. BELHOMME moved that, in writing to inform Mr. Coates of his appointment as an Hon. member, the Hon. Secretary be instructed to convey to him at the same time the thanks of the Society for all he had done for it. Mr. Coates had been the father of the Society, and he fully deserved this honour.

COLONEL GERINI seconded, and the proposal was passed with acclamation.

The meeting then terminated with a vote of thanks to the Council.



# Ordinary General Meetings of the Society.

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( Session 1905 )

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## FIRST GENERAL MEETING.

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An ordinary general meeting of the Society was held at the Bangkok United Club on the evening of Wednesday the 1st March, 1905. In the unavoidable absence of the President, the chair was taken by Mr. Francis H. Giles, Vice-President.

DR. H. CAMPBELL HIGHT showed the bacillus of bubonic plague under a powerful microscope. The specimen was taken from one of the Bangkok cases, and was viewed with much interest.

The CHAIRMAN introduced Mr. Paul Petithuguenin who read his paper entitled "A propos des origines et de l'histoire ancienne du Siam."

In inviting discussion the Chairman pointed out that the subject was one on which scholars held very different opinions.

COLONEL GERINI then read the following notes which he had prepared on M. Aymonier's book :—

"M. Petithuguenin is fully entitled to the thanks and congratulations of us all for the very able and lucid exposition he has just presented to us of M. Aymonier's views on the subject of the ancient history and ethnography of Siam.

Anything that has been written or said by oriental scholars on matters concerning this country is always interesting to hear, whether for the purpose of instruction when it is a question of new facts acquired for science, or of discussion when debatable points are involved on which there is a divergency of opinion or a conflict of views. We are all anxious to better our knowledge of the country we live in, and of its people, history and customs ; so we are ever ready to absorb whatever new facts enlightened

research has disclosed, and to investigate deeper if possible those questions on which further light is still needed. This is, indeed, the purpose for which we have formed ourselves into this Society, whose aim is to acquire knowledge for our mutual benefit and to diffuse it for the benefit of others. Here, however, is by no means an end to our programme; for, besides the passive part of receiving and the active one of diffusing and popularizing the knowledge we have absorbed, adding to it to the best of our ability, we have also—in my opinion—a duty of an eclectic,—I should perhaps say prophylactic nature to perform; and that is to see that only sound knowledge and well authenticated facts be accepted and diffused, using at the same time our endeavours towards preventing or checking the spread of error and the perdurance of many false notions which have been long current among the public or which are from time to time put in circulation.

Everyone of you, gentlemen, is perfectly aware of the enormous amount of arrant nonsense, in comparison with the paucity of useful information, which has been from time immemorable, and is still being, written and talked about this country! Leaving aside as quite unworthy of our notice the effusions of globe-trotters and other occasional writers gifted more with imaginative powers than with the capacity and perseverance for research; and turning merely to the publications of those fairly proficient in oriental lore who have devoted some attention to the study of their subject,—we have had even during the brief course of the last decade or so, to put up with by no means a few would be scholarly works purporting to elucidate all that there is to be known about Siamese archeology, history, ethnography, language, and so forth. Such publications have been only in some cases the outcome of a flying visit to this country, where during a few weeks of rambling in the precincts of the glittering pagodas or roving among the ruins of dilapidated cities, the all comprehensive genius of the writer, seized at one grasp the whole mystery of an almost unfathomable past, of racial characteristics, and ethical evolution.

But in a few other cases the ponderous volumes have been the production of “arm chair” specialists who, never having set a foot upon Siamese soil, viewed Siam at a few thousand miles’ distance, through the dangerous telescope of a fertile imagination assisted, so to speak, by an ill-digested fill of motley material absorbed from anti-

quoted works on the country written by *Pioneers* and therefore liable to a considerable amount of error, both of omission and commission. It appears, in fact, to have become the fashion for some amateur orientalist at home, to pose as past masters in all matters related to Siam, and imperturbably to play the self assumed rôle of oracles or Cicerones for the general public, and Mentors for the special benefit of ourselves who reside out here.

Thus it comes to pass that we, puny ignoramuses living in this country with eyes not to see and ears not to hear, are being taught the gospel of Siamese origins, history, philology, and what not, by these portentous supermen. True it is that their esoteric deliverances are in not a few instances very exhilarating ones—the more so, indeed, as to make one pardon in such cases the way in which they are magnanimously being bestowed upon us. One or two of this class are worth quoting. They are gleaned hap-hazard out of the many pearls scattered broadcast in a booklet by the late Professor Schlegel of Sinological fame, entitled “Siamese Studies” (Leiden, 1902) and written, as he gravely declares (p. 1), “for furnishing to the scholars of Siamese the means to restore the Siamese transcription of foreign words to their original form, and enable them to make an etymological dictionary of the Siamese language, the want of which is sadly felt [quite true].” Here is now the first one of the priceless gems just referred to.

“The Sanskrit word *sāranga* which, among others means an Elephant, was curtailed [in Siamese] to *sán*, written *sár* [สาร์]. In order to show that an elephant, and not a gazelle [another meaning of *sāranga*], was meant, the Siamese added the Chinese word *Hsiang*, Canton *Ts’ōng*, elephant, to the Sanskrit word and so we get the hybrid and curtailed Siamese word *chàng-sán* [ช้างสาร์]—*Tsōng* (elephant) + Skr. *sāranga* (elephant) with the special meaning of “robust elephant” (p. 89).

So you are warned, gentlemen, that when you say, for instance, *Khàusán* (ข้าวสาร์), you are liable to be misunderstood as meaning *gazelle rice*, *elephant rice*, or something to that effect. As a matter of fact, we, the humble pupils for which the above sublime teaching is intended, are well aware that *sán*, สาร์, does not at all derive from *sāranga* (elephant, gazelle, etc.), but from the Sanskrit and Pali *sāra* meaning

'essence, pith, vigour'; so that *Khàn sán* signifies 'rice of the best or choicest quality', 'perfect rice', and in the customary conventional acceptation 'cleaned rice'; just as *c'háng-sán*, 象鼻, connotes a valuable or vigorous elephant.

Here is again another gem to match with the above. Twice on two different pages (21 and 32), the highly imaginative Leiden Professor tells us that Pallegoix was utterly wrong in translating *king-ká* [ 𪛗 𪛗 ] by 'chameleon', as this is "a kind of lizard not existing in Siam," the correct meaning is instead a 'centipede.' Remember therefore, gentlemen, when you see the Changeable Garden Lizard commonly styled 'chameloen' and in Siamese *King-ká* ( 𪛗 𪛗 ) basking in the sun on the top of your outhouses, that it is *not* a lizard, but *a centipede* that you behold. Even should you clearly distinguish a simply four-footed body with a long tail, and a dirty greenish hue changeable at times to a ruddy colour, do not believe your eyes: they too often deceive us, and our forefathers have left us the aphorism "Trust not to appearances." Lieut. S. M. Flower must have been, of course, a victim to such an optical illusion, else he would not have told us in his "Notes on the Fauna of Siam," that *King-ká* is a lizard.

However, it just happens that we, the humble pupils for which the superior mental food of the sort just cited is destined, feel like all students before which too transcendental bits of lore are put for absorption, a little restive, not to say taken a back, and feel just the shadow of a suspicion that the illusion may have occurred instead on the part of Professor Schlegel, however infallible he may have thought himself to be. In our humble opinion, in fact, the worthy Professor must have been mistaken *King-ka* 𪛗 𪛗 for a *King-kü* or *Küng-kü* ( 𪛗 𪛗, 𪛗 𪛗 ) which may be described as a centipede with another cipher added to the number of its lower extremities; that is, in a word, *a millipede*. His telescope must therefore owing to the enormous distance intervening between Leiden and this country have played him false this time too.

Such is, gentlemen, the transcendental philology that Siamese scholars are asked to imbibe. Instances of similar peerless oracular deliveries might be multiplied *ad libitum* by a cursory glancing through the one hundred and odd pages of Professor Schlegel's brochure.

At this juncture it occurs to me that you may have asked yourselves what remote relation can possibly exist between what I have been saying and the subject of the paper that has occupied our attention. I sorely feel I owe you an explanation for digressing, apparently, so far from the topic under discussion. And the apology for my long digression is this, that I have thought it useful and expedient for the purpose of illustration, in order to bring out my point the more clearly.

However extravagant Professor Schlegel's deductions may appear to you, it is yet fairly sound logic in comparison of the so-called, history of Sukhōthai and of the foundation of Ayuthia which M. Aymonier has attempted to reconstitute after his own ideas. Only, there is a difference, and that in M. Aymonier's disfavour too.

Professor Schlegel, whose theories in the end nobody came to take *au sérieux*, may to a certain extent be excused on the ground that he had no opportunity of visiting either Siam or other parts of Indo-China and seeing for himself, amongst other things, whether green lizards are centipedes or *vice versa*. But no such plea exists for M. Aymonier who had ample opportunity, during a long residence in Kamboja and some brief strolls into Siamese territory, to collect the materials, and if not, the information necessary for an adequate treatment of the subject he has felt himself tempted to brooch. This he, assuredly, has not done; while devoting on the other hand all his time and attention to the antiquities of Kamboja and Champa, especially the language and vernacular epigraphy, through the painstaking study of which he has quite deservedly risen to a high standing in the oriental world, and qualified as a first rate authority on such subjects. He may, in fact, be regarded as one of the principal founders and ablest expounders of the study of Cham and Kambojan antiquities. Owing to such brilliant precedents and distinguished career, exemplified in the results embodied in a number of publications, among which stands *facile princeps* his latest productions, the monumental work in three bulky volumes he has devoted to Kamboja ("Le Cambodge;" Paris, 1900-1-4), his views naturally command respect and find ready endorsement among the general public, even when they concern the archaeology or

history of countries which, like Siam, not only are situated on the very borders of the special field of his labour, but actually include outlying portions of it. His share of responsibility becomes therefore so much heavier for what he has to say on the subject, and correspondingly greater the danger wrought by his short comings in the event of the statements he makes or the inferences he draws proving not to be sufficiently founded on fact and scholarship.

With those who take up such arduous subjects it would, of course, be decidedly unfair to show one's self anything like hypercritical, in view of the difficulties of every kind which beset the inquirer. If it is admitted as a general thesis that man is liable to errors of judgment, the concession must be made far more liberally to those whose paths take them through the mazes of historical investigation concerning this country. And we should as a consequence be considerably more lenient if on questions on which he is not competent to judge whether for insufficiency of documentary material at his disposal or for lack of an adequate philological preparation, M. Aymonier had merely set up working hypotheses or given us his views of the different questions involved under a certain reserve which is always wise to impose on one's self in such matters, leaving it to others to confirm, to correct, or to modify them in the light of further researches.

However, I much regret to say, if a plea of this sort holds good up to a certain extent for the ethnographical theories he unfolds which, by the way are by no means the fruit of his own observations entirely, but have been already in substance, expounded by others; if some extenuation could again be found for the extraordinary jumble he makes of Chinese toponymy relative to Indo-Chinese countries, resulting in his utter failure to identify with anything like approximation hardly a single one of the place-names he examines; no excuse whatever can be claimed for the liberties he takes in shuffling and muddling the ancient history of Siam both of the Sukhōthai and Ayuthia periods, and the cocksureness he displays in contesting the universally accepted date of the foundation of Ayuthia which he would have us place forward no less than one century.

If one were to judge from the indictments he so apodictically delivers, one would be led to infer that M. Aymonier must have ransacked the whole country for records,

and discovered heaven knows what vast amount of evidence in favour of his views. But here is exactly where one, after the perusal of the very first few pages of his effusion, becomes completely disillusioned, not to say dumbfounded. On what rocky foundations would you think he has based all his structure of bewildering sophisms? Well, as he himself tells us ( "Cambodge," t. III, pp. 658 et seqq.), on two partial translations made by a Kambojan youngster of the ten first books of what he calls the Annals of Martaban (commonly known in Siam under the name of *Rājādhirāj*), and of the chronicle of Northern Siam (*Phongsāwādān Nīa*).

I must leave entirely out of question the competency of the translator; he may, for all we know, have acquitted himself pretty well of his task. But I wonder upon what corrupt and mutilated MS. his translation of the Northern Chronicle was made. A translations of the same work published many years ago by Captain ( afterwards Colonel ) Low in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* well exemplifies how careful one must be in the selection of the MSS. one works upon. The same applies to a considerable extent also to the versions of the same chronicle that have more recently appeared in print in this capital. At the same time I do not in the least intend to palliate the very serious shortcomings that characterise even the best recensions obtainable of the Northern Chronicle. This is a most difficult instrument to handle. It may, in fact, be aptly compared to a double-edged weapon; exceedingly dangerous to wield to the inexperienced who do not possess other sources of information and have not well digested and critically examined a host of fragmentary records, wherewith to check its often jumbled statements and rectify its too usually wrong dates for the various events narrated therein.

Of the as yet untranslated first part of the so-called "Annals of Ayuthia" extending down to the middle of the seventeenth century, M. Aymonier seems not to have had a translation made for his own use; for he, in so far as can be gathered from the content of his exposition, appears to rely throughout on the short extracts or summaries published by Pallegoix and others. He plainly shows, however, he is fully aware that this kind of records, though commonly dubbed "Annals" have but little to do with the original Annals of Ayuthia which became lost in the destruction of that capital in 1767; and that they are on the contrary but a compilation—

in reality a patchwork more or less successfully brought out together—of whatever fragments of the old records could be recovered, with an attempt here and there to fill up the widest gaps, from motley information gathered out of the documents to which the compiler had access in his time. Though open to a certain measure of criticism and not always reliable in their chronology, their dates which by the way are seldom out more than a few years, can in most instances be easily enough rectified from other sources both local and foreign. At all events, these “Annals” do by no means deserve the sweeping condemnation M. Aymonier makes of them. For, while rightly contesting the incorrectness of some of the dates they give, due to the negligence as well as ignorance of generations of scribes as well as to the imperfect manner in which dates were recorded in the numerous stray documents drawn upon for their compilation, he casts the most grave suspicions also on those dates which are given with a wealth of particulars, holding that such an abundance of details is a proof of such dates having been purposely concocted in order to falsify history. Hence he concludes that for the first two centuries at least that they deal with, these Annals are almost entirely apocryphal; a base forgery, in fact (pp. 662, 729.) “Although appearing scientifically exact they possess no value whatever, especially in what concerns their initial period” (p. 661). “The *Annals of Ayuthia* have been dangerously masked and disguised under a series of chronological dates which follow one another very rigorously, but have been generally applied without good reason. Almost apocryphal for the two first centuries, these modern chronicles have falsified the history of the country”. (p. 662). Having laid down such strange premisses, M. Aymonier proceeds to give us, you understand, the *genuine* history of the country re-constituted, he declares, from a critical examination of *all the sources* he was able to consult, adding there to the evidence from Chinese authors, of the statements and place-names of whom he makes the most pitiful jumble. And concludes his preamble as follows: “We have been under the necessity of playing—willingly or not—the much unexpected rôle of executioner, and of concluding this chapter with ascertained results which constitute a real *coup de théâtre*.” (p. 663) We will examine this wonderful theatral dénouement directly, and see whether it is really a tragedy or simply a farce.



In the meantime it behoves us to add that, besides the very meagre sources referred to above, a few inscriptions from Sukhōthai transtated by late Père Schmitt of whom we mourn the recent loss from our midst, complete the stock-in-trade of M. Aymonier for dealing with the two centuries of "apocryphal history" of Ayuthia and with the century that precedes it at Sukhōthai. These few inscriptions naturally form the mainstay of his argument, and it goes as a matter of course that in order to make their statements suit his point of view, he twists them in the most arbitrary manner. And after having made confusion worst confounded he utters forth the triumphal statement: "Thus, aroused from their secular lethargy, these stelas stand forth in order to proclaim the historical truth. It would be necessary, in order to give the lie to their evidence, so neat, so probatory something else than apocryphal MSS., compiled after the lapse of four centuries, and rehandled at pleasure by vainglorious princes or historiographers devoid of scruple" (p. 730).

The fact is that there is no need of believing such epigraphic evidence, for it agrees entirely with that to be obtained from local records and from those of the neighbouring States of which, as we have seen, M. Aymonier knows next to nothing. Fully sensible from my own experience of the difficulty of procuring a sufficient number of such rare texts, of translating and collating them, I shall be lenient with M. Aymonier's ignorance about their contents or even their existence, although bound to observe that before setting on an undertaking of this kind he should for the sake of fair-play have made some endeavour to learn something of what they tell us. But no excuse whatever exists, for him as regards such texts, historical or otherwise as have been published in Siam during the last three or four decades; and far less yet as regards the publications of European scholars that have appeared on Siamese history, antiquities, or subjects akin. Had M. Aymonier taken at least the pains of reading such studies, he would have been able to avoid many pitfalls, and to commit himself to a far less extent in his denunciation of the first two centuries of Ayuthian history and other matters. Among the Siamese publications which would have readily convinced M. Aymonier of his grossest blunder, are the two volumes of the ancient Laws of Siam, which form one of the most authentic sources for the history of the country,

although the dates given require in some instances rectification owing to the causes above referred to when dealing with the chronicles. The text published of these laws is, in fact not the official one that was preserved in the old Siamese capital as this was like all other documents destroyed; but has been collected from different incomplete copies of the original laws found in various parts of the country after its liberation from the Burmese invaders. Most of the laws are dated and record besides the name of the monarch who has enacted them, many useful particulars helping to establish their true date when this has been wrongly handed down, as well as the place of their promulgation. Any scholar who respects himself cannot omit looking a bit into such valuable documents before attempting anything in the line of historical, philological, or ethnographical inquiry as regards this country. The fact of M. Aymonier having so light-mindedly set forth on his inquiry without having seen even the back cover of these two volumes of laws, lays himself open to the severest criticism. He would have found therein as we shall see directly, more than one incontrovertible confirmation that his theory relative to the date of the foundation of Ayuthia is wrong from beginning to end. But gravest yet is his negligence, I may repeat, in not having put himself au courant of various recent publications where a good portion of the ground he is concerned with has been covered with the help of far more historical sources of information than he will ever be able to procure. He would also have found there readily identified many ancient place-names, occurring both in local and Chinese records, which he has vainly sought to locate. It may suffice to refer here to the much debated question of the location of Sajjanálai, which in his usual muddling manner he makes out to be Sukhóthai (pp. 658, 697-8). I have shown years ago that this ancient capital of Siam, the name and site of which have been a puzzle to Père Schmitt, Fournereau, and *tutti quanti* who have treated of Siamese antiquities up to this day, is unmistakeably Swankhalók, whose governor has for centuries borne its name in his own official title. But what topographical identifications can be expected from one who, like M. Aymonier, is at a loss to identify even as common and widely known name as *C'honlabúri* (*Jalapurii*, จาลปุรี), which still exists to this very day, and as the majority of those here present are fully aware, is

simply the official name for the province of Bangplasoï. This gives you the measure of Aymonier's proficiency in the historical geography of this country. I may add that of its language he knows practically nothing; much less of its literature, laws, customs; whereas he has never put his foot on territory of either of the ancient cities of Sukhōthai and Swankhalōk he talks so much about, and is far from posted up on the publications that have appeared on Simese history, antiquities, etc., even in European languages. It is therefore quite plain that to attempt to confute his arguments or to correct his grossest blunders serially would be a waste of time and labour.

I shall therefore merely confine myself to a short exposure of his masterpiece, his stage surprise or *coup-de-théâtre*, as he calls it. This consists as you are all aware, in denying that the foundation of Ayuthia took place at the date stated in the local Annals, viz. 1350 A. D.; and holding that that capital was not founded until 1459-60 or there about. I take it that if I can demonstrate on incontrovertible evidence that Ayuthia existed for fully one century back from Aymonier's apodictically assumed date, and therefore practically at the time stated in the local Annals, M. Aymonier's edifice of fanciful history crumbles down entirely to the ground, and the worthlessness of all his would be reconstruction of the ancient history both of Sukhōthai and Ayuthia will become glaringly manifest. Here then is just a small portion of the evidence I can bring. In selecting it I have purposely avoided citing rare texts or scarcely known MSS. works which it would be difficult to consult or to procure. I simply avail myself of what is readily accessible to anyone who cares to refer to it in order to control the correctness of my statements. As you will see all my data are drawn from works published through the press during recent years.

I shall begin by stating the position of the Ayuthia Annals as regards the date of the foundation of Ayuthia. These declare it to have been founded and formerly inaugurated by King Rámāthibodi (afterwards styled the first of that name), on Friday, the 6th of the 5th month, year 712 of the Little Era (Culla-sakkarāj), bearing the cyclical sign of the tiger and the number of order 2 in the decade at 9 h. 54 of the morning. This corresponds, according to my

computations, to Friday, 19th March, 1350, (old style). Such a luxuriance of details, as we have already observed is what constitutes for M. Aymonier a proof of apocryphicalness of the dates concerned. As regards the one now under discussion, it goes as a matter of course that he does not omit to question its validity. This, I propose to demonstrate, only more fully evidences his ignorance of the customs of these populations. For it is a well known fact that in all of these countries which derive their early civilization from India, it is customary to preserve the horoscope or what is called the "birth-date of the city", *C'hâtá Müang* (ชาตาเมือง) in all its most trifling details, down to hours and minutes, for astrological purposes, so as to be able to consult the stars and predict the destinies of the city at any time of calamity or distress. Of such a fact there is ample evidence in all chronicles of this and neighbouring countries. Judging from the fact that even the horoscopes of children are carefully kept for similar purposes, it is easy to guess how far more anxious these nations must be to preserve the horoscope of the capital city on which the welfare of so many citizens depends according to the generally accepted notion. It thus happens that however little reliable the chronicles of these countries may be in the dates of other events, they invariably tell us the date of the foundation of the capital with the very identical luxuriance of particulars. So do the Peguan Annals for the date of foundation of Hamsávatí; the Láu Annals for those of C'hieng Mai, C'hieng Sên, Lamp'hun, etc.; the Burmese annals for several of their capitals and principal cities and so forth. Hence, the presence of the details aforesaid in connection with the date of Ayuthia is perfectly justifiable, and so is the reason why such a date escaped being forgotten like many others after the destruction of the capital, for many astrologers as well as many citizens with a bent for astrological pursuits, would have duly entered it in their own *Púms* (ปุม) or books of ephemerides, for consultation whenever it might seem expedient.

Before proceeding to an enumeration of the evidence collected by myself, I deem it worth the while to briefly touch upon the evidence already gathered up on the subject by others, and very distinguished and reliable scholars too.

First of all, it is generally known from John Bowring's book on Siam, that H. M. the late King Maha Mongkut had expressed to him his full conviction as regards the correctness of the date of the foundation of Ayuthia as handed down in local records. To any one who knows anything about the upright character of the learned King intolerant of nonsense of any kind whether in laical or religious matters, and of the long extended trips up country, and years spent in investigation of the records of the country, such a testimony as cited by John Bowring cannot but carry great weight.

But there is another point yet. La Loubère, the distinguished ambassador from King Louis XIV. of France to the Court of Ayuthia in 1687, records among other things, the date obtained by him from his informants at that Court, for the foundation of Ayuthia; and says this took place in the year 1894 of the Buddhist Era, which corresponds to the year 1350 (May 1350 to May 1351), thus agreeing with the date of the Annals of Ayuthia, and still more so with the date in the Buddhist Era occurring for the same event in other local records. Now, the most startling thing is this, that M. Aymonier, while fully aware of the date recorded by La Loubère, prefers to adopt that of the missionary Gervaise, who vaguely assigns the foundation of Ayuthia to about one century later (pp. 728-9). This gives you the measure of the critical acumen displayed through and through his reasonings by M. Aymonier. Just think of what enormous difference there must be in reliability between the information taken direct from officials of the Court by such a distinguished personage as La Loubère who clearly shows in his book that he had ample opportunities for obtaining important items, and the vague statement of an obscure—however intelligent missionary—who throughout the book he has published has committed other blunders of a similar kind. Of course, M. Aymonier, is naturally not aware that the Annals of the country were sedulously kept in the royal library at Ayuthia for the use chiefly of the King, and that copies were forbidden to be made for any other purpose. So it was only among the highest officials that extracts or resumé's could be found and occasional copies of one portion or other of the Annals surreptitiously taken, and that is the reason why so little could be recovered of the original Annals of Siam in the country whereas much more could

be found of its laws. Every governor of the highest class provinces, like Ligor, Phisnulok, Korat, etc. was in fact provided with a duly authenticated copy of the laws for the administration of justice within his provincial jurisdiction, while he was denied copies of the National Annals. Now it is plain that the date obtained by La Loubère more than two centuries ago, when the original Annals of Ayuthia existed intact, and the tradition of its foundation must have been still quite vivid in the country, cannot be but the correct date. What purpose could have been served by antedating it one century or so? If such had been the intention of the rulers at the time being, why not carry the date of the foundation of the city further back for half a dozen centuries or more, bringing it down, say, to the mythical period of Rāma or Krishna after whose capitals the city was named? In conclusion, the rejection by M. Aymonier of La Loubère's date fully gives us the measure, as I said, of his critical accumen.

But here are now a few bits of evidence for him to ponder upon and to upset if he can.

Among the Old Laws of Siam above referred to, there are over half a dozen enacted by the very King Rāmāthibodī I., who founded Ayuthia. They all range in dates between A. D. 1350 and 1360 or so. I shall simply select a few of the most important not only from the standpoint of their legal contents, but also from the fact that they contain clearly defined dates, give pretty well in full the King's name and title, and in some instances declare him also to be the ruler of the great capital *Sri Ayudhya* (กรุงเทพมหานคร ศิโยเดีย). Subjoined is their list.

1.—ลักษณะ พยาน Law of Evidence ; date, 6th June, 1350, (1894 B. E.) or only two and a half months after the foundation of the capital (กฎหมาย เมืองไทย, vol. I, p. 409). This law has been in force until A. D. 1895, when it was repealed by a new one.

2.—ลักษณะ ลักพา Law on Abduction ; date 1355. Refers to slaves and serfs running away or being abducted to the State

of Sukhōthai and other northern provinces ; mentions twice the capital Ayuthia in which the king ( Ramathibodi ) enacted the law. ( Op. cit., vol. I, p. 316 ).

3.—ลักษณะ รับฟ้อง Law on the receiving of Complaints, date 1355 ( op. cit., vol. I, p. 73 ).

4.—Law on Land and Boundaries, in ลักษณะ เบ็ดเสร็จ date 1359 ( 1903 B. E. ), mentions besides king Rāmātthipati, the capital Ayuthia ( op. cit., I, p. 372 ).

*N. B.* Clause 4 of this Law was abolished only as recently as May 1st 1901.

5.—ลักษณะ ฅบ่บ่ Duties of Man and Wife—date, 1360 and 1361 ( op. cit., vol. I, p. 224 ). Mentions likewise king Rāmāthibodi and the capital Ayuthia.

And I might add a few more of the same reign not however so clear about the points that interest us. As nearly all these laws bear on judicature, they make clear how anxious was the founder of Ayuthia, after having consolidated his power, to regulate the administration of justice in his dominions. This shows him to have been possessed of the rare qualities that characterize all great conquerors.

Now, might I enquire, what has M. Aymonier to say to all this ? That these laws are all apocryphal, that they have been antedated for the purpose of falsifying history and so forth ? I may observe that the archaic language in which they are couched, which closely resembles that of the oldest Sukhōthai inscription of circa 1300, and makes certain passages of these laws not a little difficult of understanding even to cultured Siamese, bears ample testimony to their antiquity.

As I have declared, besides the above points I could bring lots more of other evidence to bear on the correctness of the date of the foundation of Ayuthia from other records, not however so easily accessible, or which it would take me a longer time than I now have at my disposal to glance over after passages bearing on the subject at hand. At the same time, I think after all, my labour would not repay the trouble, for M.

Aymonier might yet be inclined to question their authenticity. If so, I have something here in store as a last *cartouche*. This time, gentlemen, it is not a question of a local record, but of one preserved in a foreign country which had early established friendly relations with Siam. That country, gentlemen, is Java, which was then the centre of a mighty empire with its capital at Májápáhit.

Well, then, a poem has been handed down from that period, composed in honour of king Hayam Wuruk, the greatest sovereign who ever sat on the throne of Májápáhit. He reigned from 1350 to 1389, and the poem was written during the latter part of his reign, in about 1380. It has recently been edited with his customary ability by Dr. Brandes, one of the foremost Javanese scholars, whom it is an honour to our Society to have among us as a Corresponding Member. The poet *Prapañca*, for such is the name of the author of that poem, in the course of his description of mightiness of the empire of Májápáhit, goes into a long enumeration of the continental States on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, with which the mighty empire had established friendly as well as trading relations. Now, among the names of such States, gentlemen, occurs that of *Ayodhyápura* which, I need not point out, is the same as *Ayudhya*, the capital of Siam at the time being.

This, gentlemen is the very pin-prick that by itself alone is more than sufficient to burst the bubble set agoing by M. Aymonier with his pretentious reconstitution of ancient Siamese history. He will not, I hope, plead that date of that poem is false also, for he cannot. So he is defeated on the very lines he challenges for testimony. Here is foreign evidence for him, and more could be brought together if necessary. But so much will suffice for the present, and further comments would be wasted. Here is another *coup de théâtre* set up as a pendant to that prepared by M. Aymonier. Which is the drama and which the farce? To the public the ultimate judgement. As for myself I feel I have done my duty in exposing one of the most empty fads it has been my lot to come across. M. Aymonier I should frankly say has always my high respect as an exponent of Kambojan epigraphy but in point of historic criticism, and geography, or of reconstitution of ancient histories, I sincerely regret I must rank him



even below the ruck of the compilers of the jumbled chronicles he so much contemns.

MR. PETITHUGUENIN, in reply, said that M. Aymonier's work was one of great interest, but it was quite true he was insufficiently supplied with records on which to base his conclusions. M. Finot, he might mention, had been unable to accept M. Aymonier's conclusions. Colonel Gerini himself, however, would no doubt soon replace these speculations by an authoritative work.

The discussion was continued by the Rev. John Carrington and Mr. J. W. Hinchley, and the meeting ended with the usual votes of thanks.

## SECOND GENERAL MEETING.

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An Ordinary General Meeting of the Society was held at the Bangkok United Club on the evening of Friday, March 31st, 1905. Mr. Francis H. Giles, Vice-President, was in the chair.

The first business was the paper by Dr. T. Masao entitled "Researches into indigenous Law of Siam as a study of Comparative Jurisprudence."

After it had been read, Dr. Masao said, in reply to a question by M. Petithuguenin, that while there was no doubt the ancient Siamese laws were of Hindu origin, he was not in a position to say definitely whether they came from Cambodia, or Burma by way of Pegu.

DR. FRANKFURTER said he believed the introduction to the Siamese code says plainly that they got it by way of Pegu. Cambodian law is not mentioned at all. Cambodian law seems to be identical with Siamese, and they may go back to the same source, but more probably, as M. Aymonier puts it, they do go back to the same source simply because the Cambodian laws are the old laws of Siam.

COLONEL GERINI agreed with this view. He said the Siamese went for their law to a Dhammasat which was not in Sanscrit, but in Pali. It was not the same Dhammasat as that of Manu, but a modification made by Buddhists, or evolved in Buddhist countries out of the Dhammasat of Manu, and taken as a basis for all legislation in eastern countries. But a wave of barbarism passed over Cambodia, and the modern laws of that country had been derived from the laws of Siam because the Cambodians had lost their own laws. Many of the differences which Dr. Masao had brought forward between Siamese law and the Code of Manu were, he believed, due to the fact he had mentioned that Siamese law was not derived directly from the Code of Manu, but from the Buddhist Code, a modification of the Code of Manu. The title Buddhist Law

was the one given by Sir John Jardine, who had long made a study of the Buddhist laws of Burma, but it was not quite appropriate ; Brahman-Buddhist would perhaps be a better designation.

THE REV. J. CARRINGTON thought the old Siamese Code, set forth so well by Dr. Masao, showed that the Siamese understood well what they were about. But he thought exception might be taken to limiting the age of witnesses to 70 years.

DR. MASAO said the provisions of the ancient laws he had referred to were mostly repealed. At the present time he had no doubt a Siamese Court would accept the evidence of a witness of 80 or 90 years of age if the Court satisfied itself that he was fit to be a witness.

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The next business before the meeting was an exhibition of slides showing ancient monuments in Southern Siam. The views had all been taken by Mr. P. A. Thompson, who kindly gave explanations about each. The lantern was manipulated by Mr. Pruss. The ancient monuments shown included those of Lopburi, Phrapatom, Ayuthia, Korat, Supan, etc., and the exhibition proved of very great interest

A vote of thanks was cordially accorded to Dr. Masao and Mr. Thompson, on the motion of the Chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

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### THIRD GENERAL MEETING.

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An ordinary general meeting of the Society was held at the Bangkok United Club on the evening of Monday, the 15th May, 1905. Colonel Gerini, Vice-President was in the chair, and the attendance was somewhat larger than usual, over forty being present. The meeting was called to hear Dr. Jean Brengues read his paper entitled "Note sur les populations de la région des Montagnes des Cardamones"

In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman said that, as many present were already aware, Dr. Brengues had been working for several years about the Siamese frontier and had devoted all his spare time to ethnological researches, while he was also an enthusiastic student of folk-lore.

At the conclusion of the paper, the Chairman said that the populations of which Dr. Brengues had given them so scholarly an account, inhabited the region of the mountains between Chantaboon and the Tale Sap. No scientific study had ever been made of these tribes before, and it was the great good fortune of the Siam Society to be the first to be given the results of the extensive and highly important observations made by Dr. Brengues. For this they had to thank not only Dr. Brengues, himself, but also the Boundary Commission, the members of which he was very glad to see present. One important thing Dr. Brengues had done was to demonstrate homogeneity between the Chong and the Porr. Before it was believed they were different tribes. On the Siamese side they were called Chong, and on the Cambodian, Porr, while in some places they were known as Samrae; but Dr. Brengues had established that they form one race. And there was a still more important point that followed from his observations.—Dr. Brengues had found traces of negrito blood. It had long been imagined that not only the coast of the Gulf of Siam but the whole Indo-China peninsula had been inhabited by people of negrito blood. Even not very far from here, in Chaiya, there were traces of this at the present day—a fact to which Dr. Dunlap drew attention at the first meeting of the Society. Travellers had reported the same thing from the eastern side of the Gulf, but such reports were not the result

of scientific studies at all. Now, however, in Dr. Brengues' paper we had proof that there were distinct traces of negrito blood—about 20 per cent.—evidenced by their black complexions and woolly hair. In addition they had in the paper very scholarly notes about the festivals and customs of the tribes. There were among them traces of the totem, and the mode of worship described represented the earliest form of spirit worship in these countries. After discussing the significance of the musical instruments of the Porr, the Chairman concluded by again congratulating the Society on having been favoured with such an important paper.

A series of slides from admirable photographs taken by Dr. Brengues in the district, was then shown on a screen with the aid of a lantern manipulated by Mr. Emil Groote.

After according a very cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Brengues, and another to Mr. Groote for his assistance, the meeting terminated.



## FOURTH GENERAL MEETING.

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An ordinary general meeting of the Society was held at the Bangkok United Club on the evening of Monday August 28th, 1905. Colonel G. E. Gerini, Vice-President, was in the chair.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Council the Chairman proposed the appointment as Corresponding Members of Count F. L. Pullé (Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Languages in the University of Bologna) and of Signor L. Nocentini (Professor of Chinese in the University of Rome). The proposal was at once accepted.

The Chairman then referred to the sad news of the death of Dr. Brandes, renowned for his researches into the antiquities of Java, and a Corresponding Member of the Siam Society. He called on Mr. van der Heide to read a Note he had prepared at the request of the Council concerning Dr. Brandes, (see paper).

The Chairman next introduced Mr. H. Walter Bourke, of the Royal Department of Mines, who read his paper entitled "Some Archaeological Notes on Monthon Puket."

At the conclusion of the paper the Chairman expressed his sense of the value of the researches made by Mr. Bourke, who was the first investigator in that part of the Peninsula.

The REV. JOHN CARRINGTON, who has also a considerable knowledge of the district, continued the discussion, and, at the request of the Chairman, promised a paper on Monthon Puket but treating more of the history and present conditions of the people.

MR. BOURKE had prepared a large number of maps, plans and photographs, which were handed round, and, he also showed a highly interesting collection of Indian and other re-

mains from Monthon Puket. These were examined with much interest by all present. Afterwards photographs of the statues, of works of Siamese art, and of tin-mining were shown on a screen with the aid of a lantern. The proceedings terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Bourke.

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## REPORT FOR 1905.

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(PRESENTED TO THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING HELD ON  
JANUARY 31st 1906.

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The Council can look with a certain amount of satisfaction on the work of the second year of the Society. The first volume of the Journal, for 1904, was issued to members in August 1905 after some delay, which though regrettable could not be entirely avoided. The second part of Volume ii containing a monograph by Colonel Gerini on Bhuket was issued to members in December, and the first part, which will contain the papers read during 1905, will be in the hands of members at a very early date. The delay in publishing is due to the fact that the revised manuscripts did not come to hand at the proper time and to difficulty in printing.

The first number of Volume iii (1906, will be issued in June and the second part during the latter half of this year, so that it is hoped that the Journal will be issued in future at regular intervals.

The Society naturally works under certain disadvantages compared with other Societies established for similar purposes in the Far East. Foremost among these disadvantages is the fact that Siamese is not yet, as are Chinese and Japanese, a recognised literary language, and that consequently the labours of the scholars of the country written in that language do not find due recognition, and to this must be added a certain want of publicity given to these labours. We must further look for reasons to the fact that there is no central authority from which these researches can be directed ; and the establishment of a National Library may be hailed with satisfaction as the first step in that direction. We also work under this disadvantage, that the foreigners resorting to this country, whether they are in the service of their own Government or take



service under the State, in no instance, make Siam their permanent home. They are, so far as they do not resort here as merchants, naturally busy in those branches of the service for which they were engaged owing to their special aptitude for them. They are called upon to introduce new methods or report upon present conditions, and this leaves them no time for original research, nor can they, for want of material easily accessible, develop what has been done by others.

It must always be remembered that Siam is a young country, which only during the last hundred years has taken a permanent place amongst the nations of the world. A break in its history occurred with the sack of Ayuddhya by the Burmans; the history before the foundation of Ayuddhya is in most cases a matter of hypothesis. The kings who reigned there, so far as we know, found their fame more in the records of piety, than in records of conquest. Conquests are not recorded in inscriptions, although conquests there were, as the political conditions even at the present time show. We have not, and cannot therefore expect in Siam to have, profane history as it is recorded in the cuneiform inscriptions.

The attention of our Society must then be called in the first instance to the history of culture and civilization in Siam, and there certainly a wide field opens to which every one may contribute.

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The Society has to deplore the death of its honorary member Geheimrat Bastian and of its corresponding member Dr. Brandes. Short notices on them appear in the first part of our Journal.

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Certain additions have been made to the Library consisting of Journals, sent to us in exchange for our publications.

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Colonel Gerini, one of our Vice-Presidents, will leave Siam at an early date after a residence of over 25 years in this country. Here is not the place to record the services which he has rendered to "Siamology" and also to our Journal, but the Council trusts that this meeting will unanimously agree to their proposal to appoint him an Honorary Member.

From the financial statement attached to this report it will be seen that the number of our members remains stationary. It is of course owing to the peculiar position in the East, that, whilst the number of members remains the same, the individual members are shifting.

## ( ). FRANKFURTER.

### Balance Sheet, Siam Society. 1904.

Balance from last year	...	...	...	Tcs.	1,605	94
Eighty-two subscriptions	...	...	...	,,	1,640	—
Sale of Journal	...	...	...	,,	30	—
Total Tcs.					3,275	94
Printing Journal 1904.	...	...	Tcs.	1,762.68		
Printing. Postage etc.	...	...	,,	167.66		
Clerk's Salary	...	...	,,	100.—		
Binding Journal	...	...	,,	24.—		
Hire of Room and Lamp	...	...	,,	44.—	2,098	29
Balance					1,177	65
Total Tcs.					3,275	94

A. C, CARTER,

*Hon. Treasurer.*

Bangkok, December, 31st, 1905.

# Monthly Meteorological Averages.

**DURING 1905.**

Month	Mean Temperature	Mean of Maxima	Mean of Minima	Highest in shade	Lowest in shade	Greatest daily range	Least daily range	Mean daily range	Number of days on which rain fell	Rainfall in inches	Average relative humidity
Jan.	81.4	93	67	97	60	34	18	26	2	00.15	86 %
Feb.	84.8	90.8	71	98	66	28	18	23	0	00.00	84.3 ,,
March	86.7	94.	73.2	100	68	29	10	20	2	3.05	80.8 ,,
April	89.1	97.5	77.7	104	74	26	13	20	2	2.00	78.9 ,,
May	85.85	93.2	76.7	99	74	24	5	16.5	13	11.675	84. ,,
June	84.8	90.6	76.9	94	74	18	6	14.	16	6.35	84.4 ,'
July	84.8	91.	76.4	95	74	19	12	15.	17	7.775	84. ,,
Aug.	85.4	89.7	76.1	96	74	20	12	16.	16	6.6	84.2 ,,
Sept.	83.3	90.5	75.	97	74	21	11	15.	20	11.755	86.8 ,,
Oct.	83.7	89.7	75.2	95	72	20	8	14.6	15	6.96	87. ,,
Nov.	82.2	90.	69.	96	64	26	12	20.7	2	2.8	81.7 ,,
Dec.	85.2	93.45	69.87	98	66	30	16	23.5	2	drops	82.4 ,,

Mean Temperature for the year - - 84.77

Total rain fall in inches for the year - - 59.155

## In Memorium of: Docteur Jean Brengue.

C'est durant le séjour à Bangkok, Mars 1905, de la Commission française de délimitation des frontières Franco-Siamoises, que M. le Docteur Brengue Médecin de la Commission, a bien voulu offrir à la Siam Society le résultat de ses travaux et observations sur les tribus Porr, au milieu desquelles la Commission avait vécu.

Le vocabulaire cidessus était annexé à la communication, à titre complémentaire, mais diffère en quelques points des vocabulaires de langue Porr donnés par d'autres, tels que par exemple :

Moura: Royaume de Cambodge, vol. ii.

Crawford: Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Indo-China.

Dans ces conditions, le Comité de la Siam Society avait décidé d'en suspendre la publication afin de permettre à l'auteur d'effectuer, en personne, à son prochain séjour à Bangkok, les corrections jugées utiles et nécessaires.

Malheureusement, nous apprenons, au dernier moment, que M. le Docteur Brengue a trouvé la mort dans les rapides du haut Mékong, en accompagnant la Commission de délimitation des frontières de Luang Prabang. Quoique incomplet, peut-être même erroné en certaines de ses parties, le vocabulaire a, par conséquent, dû être imprimé sans l'aide de l'auteur.

La mort prématurée de M. le Docteur Brengue constitue une perte très grande pour l'ethnographie des régions Indo-Chinoises.

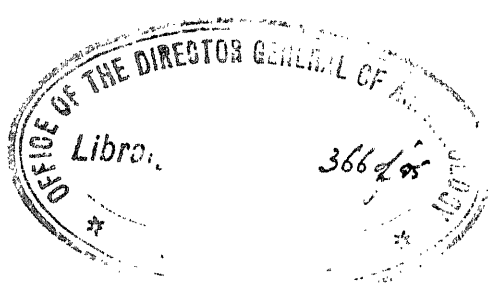
Médecin distingué des colonies, il n'avait pas limité son énergie et ses études à ses devoirs professionnels.

Esprit ouvert, sympathique, curieux et prompt à saisir les caractéristiques, les besoins, les traditions et les aspirations des peuples parmi lesquels il était appelé à exercer sa profession, il avait su trouver le temps d'enregistrer ses études and co-ordonner ses observations.

La Siam Society a eu la distinction de recevoir sa dernière communication et ne peut que se joindre aux autres institutions similaires d'Indo-Chine pour déplorer la mort d'un des ses membres les plus actifs, les plus compétents et dont l'avenir, si prématurément brisé, était si plein de promesses.

R. B.





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Original Contribution.

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BY COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

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## MISPRINTS.

page.	line.	t.=from top. b.=from bottom.	for.	read.
4	12	t.	alterantive	alternative
„	15	„	desigation	designation
5	6	„	East of	East coast of
12	16	„	as as	as
13	2	„	triennally	triennially
25	6	b.	of the	for the
35	7	„	widently	evidently
„	5	„	ตน	ดิน
68	15	t.	Châu	“ Chāu
72	14	b.	took the sea	took to sea
77	10	t.	Ya-mū	Yā-mū
110	3	b.	ลก หญิง	ลูกหญิง
111	12	t.	ภ กี่จ	ภ เกี่จ
113	8	„	ไต่	ใต้
„	6	b.	มะ เม	พะเม
114	10	„	รับ	รัม
„	8	„	จ้ำ	เจ้า
115	11	„	ขุน เพชร คีรี, ขุน อินทร	ขุน เพชร คีรี, ขุน อินทร
116	9	t.	เท้า	เท้า
139	12	„	Thāpói	Thapói

# Historical Retrospect

OF

## Junkceylon Island,

BY  
COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M. R. A. S., M. S. S., etc.

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### PART I.

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

---

1. Inadequacy of modern historical accounts of the island ;  
neglect of the old sources of information.

A feature that cannot fail to strike anyone in quest of historical information on the Island of Junkceylon in modern works on Siām or in books of general reference, is the conspicuous meagreness of the subject matter supplied under such a heading. Even in the most carefully compiled works, all that relates to the past of that important Siāmesese possession is, as a rule, dismissed with two or three lines not always free from some very gross errors; and not unoften a few more lines are deemed sufficient to deal with whatever else there is to say on the topographic features, natural resources, productions, and inhabitants of the island itself.

Happily, the latter aspects of the subject have recently received far greater attention than heretofore, and we have quite lately been put in possession of very valuable information not only thereanent, but also as regards remains of antiquarian interest on and about the island. However, its historical past still remains a sealed book; and the object of this paper besides presenting a first attempt in that direction is to show that, even leaving aside local sources, there are by no means a few important items to be

gleaned from the accounts of early European travellers and later writers, if one will only take the trouble to glance over the pages of such a class of publications. It is therefore passing strange that none of those writers who have of late years treated of the island in the extant books on Siam or encyclopædias of general information and the like, has thought, or cared, of laying under contribution at least the best known and most accessible of the old sources just referred to. The results obtained from an examination of the limited number of them to which I could gain access, as set forth in these pages, will at least, it is hoped, demonstrate what fruitful harvest can be reaped from such a department of European literature, and how much more could be gathered, should the inquiry be further extended to publications and unpublished MSS. that I had no opportunity to consult.

As regards local documents on the history of the island, although unfortunately not extending further back than the last quarter of the eighteenth century, they supply us with very important information for the following period which cannot be found, in so detailed a form, elsewhere. I could only avail myself of a limited number of such documents, including the records for the first three reigns of the present dynasty, thanks to which the present sketch could be carried down to the middle of the nineteenth century. From that point to the present day there can be no lack of documentary material for anyone inclined to continue the history of the island which, with the further assistance of European publications and of information gathered locally from the mouths of the oldest living inhabitants of the island, might thus easily be carried down to the present day.

## 2. Remarks on the name of the island.



Of the name of the island various derivations have been suggested, none of which I consider to be satisfactory. Yule and Burnell in their "Hobson-Jobson"<sup>1</sup> quote Forrest<sup>2</sup> as calling the island *Jan-Sylan* and saying it is properly *Ūjong* (i. e. in Malay,

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1. 2nd edition, London 1903, p. 473, s. v. *Junk-ceylon*.

2. "Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago," etc., by [ Captain ] Thomas Forrest, London, 1792; pp. III and 29-30.

'Cape') *Sylang*, which to them appears to be nearly right. They further add that the name is, according to Crawford,<sup>3</sup> 'Salang Headland.' But W. Crooke, the reviser of the new edition of "Hobson-Jobson," inserts within brackets the following remarks by Mr. Skeat who doubts the correctness of the above etymologies. "There is at least one quite possible alternative, *i. e.* *jong salang*, in which *jong* means 'a junk,' and *salang*, when applied to vessels, 'heavily tossing' (see Klinkert, *Dict. s. v. salang*). Another meaning of *salang* is 'to transfix a person with a dagger,' and is the technical term for Malay executions, in which the kris was driven down from the collar-bone to the heart." I make bold to remark in my turn that all this is mere guess-work. Mr. Skeat, though undoubtedly being a good authority on Malay matters, ceases to be such on topics exorbitating from the area of his peculiar field, as it clearly appears from the numerous blunders he makes in the course of his remarks in "Hobson-Jobson" on subjects connected with Siām and other parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula lying outside of the present Malay inhabited area.

While in the oldest notices of the island, dating as far back as 1512, its name is given as *Iunsalam* or *Iunsalan* (Iunsalão in the Portuguese spelling), the inhabitants have long been known to call it O'halāng, , and this is the form adopted in the oldest Siamese records, while in some of the later and even of the local ones the variant , Thalāng, occasionally appears. Surely, the inhabitants ought to know better as to the name of the land that has been their birthplace, than strangers. There cannot consequently be any question that the correct name of the island is, and has been for long ages, O'halāng. Of this Salāng is but the Malay form, adopted doubtless at the period of the Malay invasions of the Malay Peninsula from the opposite shores of Sumatra, which appear to have commenced in the last quarter of the thirteenth

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3. "Malay Dictionary," London, 1852, s. v. *Salang*; and "Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and adjacent countries," 1856, s. v. *Ujung*.

century. In the course of their initial reconnoitring voyages and raids along the coasts of the Malay Peninsula, these sea-faring adventurers no doubt noticed the island and from its appearance as a promontory boldly projecting out of the mainland they took it as part and parcel of the latter, thus naming it Ūjong Salāng, the 'Salāng Headland,' for their language possesses no equivalent for the initial *C'h* occurring in the native name of the island, and *S*, *Sh*, or *Z*, are the letters most approaching to it in sound. Although in subsequent expeditions the insular nature of the so called headland doubtless came to be recognised, the original designation persisted to this day, as has been the case with many other misapplied ones. It might be suggested as an alterantive that the early Malay adventurers, while fully aware from the very first of the real character of the land, having learnt the name of the island merely applied the designation Ūjong Salāng, 'Salāng Head (or Point)' to the southern promontory of the island itself. I should think, however, that the view first set forth has most chances in its favour of proving after all the correct one. And there can be no doubt that it is from Jong-Salāng, the shortened form of Ūjong Salāng, that the earliest European designations *Iunsalam*, *Iunsalan*, *Junsulan*, *Junsalan*, etc. have been derived, which will appear duly authenticated in the following pages.

Forrest's and Crawford's inferences thus turn out to be correct, in so far as the European derivation and the Malay form of the name of the island are concerned. But where these and later writers erred, is in having thought Ūjong Salāng or Jong Salāng to have been the original name of the island, conferred upon it by Malays. This mistake must be ascribed to the Malay bias that has so far affected most European writers on Malay matters, who have thereby been led to credit the Malay emigrants from Sumatra and Java with the creation and development of whatever forms of civilization have existed on the Malay Peninsula and on other sections of the Indo-Chinese mainland, as well as on the neighbouring islands, prior to the advent of Europeans in these parts.

But such fanciful theories can no longer hold water at the present day when it is patent that purely Malay influence, on the Indo-Chinese mainland especially, is of comparatively modern date

and has been exerted on a very limited area only, although occasional raids from the archipelago are recorded to have occurred from as early as the eighth century A. D., and although the southern part of the Malay Peninsula appears to have, from the last quarter of the seventh century, fallen under the sway of the mighty empire that had then its centre at Palembang, on the East of Sumatra. For this mostly insular empire had, like those on various parts of the Indo-Chinese mainland, grown up and had doubtless also been founded through the instrumentality of immigrant adventurers from India who may be said to have been the earliest colonizers, civilizers, and empire makers of the Further Indian region. The influence exerted from Palembang on the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula from the seventh to the thirteenth century was, therefore, essentially Indian rather than Malay. The purely Malay one commenced only on or about the time of the foundation of the Kingdom of Menang-Kabau in Northern Sumatra late in the thirteenth century, and the expansion of the Javanese Kingdom of Mājapāhit during the latter half of the century next following. Neither did, however, extend further north than the present limits of the Malay States on the Peninsula, which represent, down to this day, the results of those enterprises and are actual evidence as to the extent of the area affected. It is easy to see that the latter did not include Junk-ceylon Island, and had its northern limit a good deal further to the south of it.

In any case, it is to far more remote ages that we must trace the origin of the name of the island. And this brings us back to the very dawn of the Christian Era, if not even several centuries before it. The Malay Peninsula was then inhabited mostly by Negrito populations of which the last descendants are still found surviving in the recesses of its jungles, and by a fair complexioned race undoubtedly of Moñ-Khmër extraction which occupied the litoral as well as some of the islands, having come and settled there from Pegu and Siām. The principal harbours of the coast and trading centres had been taken possession of by colonists, mainly from Southern India, and these had begun not only to develop the resources of the soil, and to establish trading relations with their mother-land and various countries in the West, but also to lay the foundations of petty States that grew afterwards in extent and power. Junk-ceylon Island was undoubtedly well known since that



period, and if not colonized by Indū adventurers, there is reason to believe that its principal seaport was frequented by trading vessels and its tin mines opened to work, as it is certain those of the neighbouring districts on the mainland were.

Under such circumstances it must be assumed that the island possessed then a name, and there is every probability that such a name was the very one, C'halāng, by which it is and has been known to this day. The word is neither Siāmesese or Malay, nor does it seem traceable to any Indian language. Like other toponyms on the island and indeed on many parts of the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula, it has a Moñ ring about it, and in any case it belongs to the language of the earliest settlers, be they of Moñ or of the aboriginal Negrito stock. We must know something more of the languages of the Semang, Sakai and Selung or Salon tribes (of which latter a settlement appears still to exist on the eastern coast of the island and another on the mainland to the north of it), ere the question can be decided. While regretting having to leave it unsettled for the present, I should like to point out one particular fact that may assist somehow towards its solution. There exists on the West coast of Sumatra, near Rigas Bay a place, *Chellany*, whose name is more correctly written Chalang, which may have been so called by the same people who originally applied the designation C'halāng to Junk-ceylon. The two toponyms might be traceable to the same root-word, and thus prove etymologically identical.<sup>1</sup> In such a case there could be

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1. If not, the name of the bay at the southern end of the island marked *Kelung*, *Kilong*, *Khelung* in modern maps and charts, but pronounced *C'halong* ( wr. ក្រុង ) by the natives, may come in handy for a parallel. The present day Moñ call the island "Döng Khalāng," i. e. the Khalāng town, after the name of its historical capital.

Another puzzling place-name on Junk-ceylon Island is that of its southern district, P'hūket (Bhūkech), ព្រៃក្រក, which, though closely enough resembling the Malay Būkit='a hill,' appears in no way connected with this term. Nor am I inclined to trace it to *Bugi* or *Wugi*, the piratical race from Celebes who overran the west coast of the Malay Peninsula during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the one next following, founding there several settlements; for Bugis are, in the Siāmesese records of the period, termed *Mu-ngit*, ឃុំ ឃ្លីត, and not Bhūkech.

no doubt that the original word travelled from the Malay Peninsula to Sumatra, and not vice-versa; for there are to be found on the northern part of Sumatra many other places bearing names identical with those of localities not only on the Malay Peninsula, but also further north of it, as far as the coast of Arakan. It seems to me that the people who brought these place-names on to Sumatra cannot be other than the Mōñs, who most assuredly crossed over to the island from the Malay Peninsula at a remote period and spread over at least the northern portion of it where the language spoken in some districts—in Achin, for instance—is, to this very day, to a considerable extent composed of Moñ words.

Otherwise we must resort to the only other alternative that is left us, namely, that such toponyms are of Indian origin and have been introduced by the Southern-Indian traders who applied them equally to places on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal as to localities in the northern part of Sumatra. Of the nomenclature introduced through such a channel there are not a few well ascertained instances on both regions. The question remains as to whether C'halāng is also of the number, or finally, whether it being neither of Moñ nor Indian origin, it is a loan word from the speech of the aboriginal Negrito tribes once inhabiting the country.

### 3. General survey of the early history of the Island.

The early history of the island is wrapped in deep mystery, and it is only by circumstantial evidence that we can infer what its status may have been prior to the dawn of the thirteenth century when it makes its first appearance on the scene of the world's history. As we have seen, its earliest inhabitants were undoubtedly Negritos, similar to the present Semang still found not very far away on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, and to the Andamanese living at no great distance on the large cluster of islands to the West of it. The fact of Junkceylon Island lying between these two shreds of territory that have remained to this very day in occupation of Negrito tribes, clearly argues that its aboriginal population cannot have been of a different race. This was, naturally, in the course of time gradually supplanted by off-shoots of the Moñ (or Moñ-Khmër) family that

proceeded thither from Pegu, among which the *Selung* or *Salon* are probably to be classed. These peculiar maritime tribes of expert divers and swimmers, known to the Siamese as C'hāu Nam, ชาวน้ำ, ("Waterfolk") still inhabit the numerous islands of the Mergui Archipelago down to a point not far to the north of Junk-ceylon; and we have had occasion to notice that even on the island itself, and on the neighbouring mainland, settlements still exist of people that appear to be racially connected with them, if not exactly identical.

After these Moñ descended tribes came the Indū traders and colonists, and it was probably from that period that the tin mines, on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, and very likely also on Junk-ceylon Island, began to be worked. As regards the latter we have no positive proof, but it can hardly be doubted that the natural riches of the island could escape the notice of those shrewd miners who at so remote an age developed those of the neighbouring Takôpa district immediately to the north of it. By reason of its position on the old sea route to Further India that crossed the Bay of Bengal further to the north, and then skirted the West coast of the Malay Peninsula for its whole length down to the Straits, Junk-ceylon could certainly not escape becoming well known to the early navigators, at least by existence, if not by name. For indeed, no specific mention of it is to be found in the accounts of adventurous seafaring men and traders of those periods. These appear to have had only one designation for the region, including the island and the districts to the north of it as far as the Pāk Chan inlet, and that designation was Takola or Takkôla, suggested by the principal seaport and trade-mart in that region, of which the present Takôpa, in Siamese Takûa-pā, ตะกั่วป่า, is the historical continuation. This country or seaport of Takkôla is referred to as early as the very dawn of the Christian Era in the famed Pāli treatise titled "*Milinda Pañhā*," or "*The Questions of King Milinda*" (VI, 211). Towards the middle of the second century A. D. Ptolemy mentions not only Takola as a mart situated on the West Coast of the Golden Khersonese (Malay Peninsula) in a position approximately corresponding to Takôpa; but also a cape to the south-west of it, which I have elsewhere

shown to be the headland presently known as Cape Takôpa on the northern shore of Pāk P'hrah (Papra) Strait (separating Junkceylon Island from the mainland lying immediately to the north of it) which was apparently made, in the mind of the illustrious Alexandrine geographer, to comprise Junkceylon Island as well.<sup>1</sup> In such a case the Malay idea of Junkceylon as a Cape would find its counterpart, if not its origin, in some remote naval tradition as to the peninsular character of the island, which Ptolemy would have simply echoed in the mention of his Cape beyond Takola.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no reason for doubt that this region and seaport of Takola correspond—as I have elsewhere suggested—to the *Kalah* Island (in reality Peninsula) of the early Arab navigators described about A. D. 880-916 by Abū-zaid as an emporium of trade for eagle-wood, ivory, sapanwood, al-kālī (tin), etc., and classed by him among the possessions of the Zābej Empire. Ibn Khurdābih, writing in about 864 says, however, that it belonged to the *Jabah* of India, by which name he means, I think, Pegū. It seems therefore pretty certain that Junkceylon, although well known to the early navigators who often had to sail past its western and southern coasts, was considered by them practically as part and parcel of the Takôpa district, and accordingly they did not trouble about finding out what its special native designation was; or, even if they eventually learnt it, of putting it on record.

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1. See my remarks on this subject in the *Journal R. Asiatic Society* for July 1897, pp. 572-573 and table IV, nos 79,80. Also in the same *Journal* for April, 1904, pp. 239,247.

2. Colonel Yule, in his map of Ancient India in Smith's well-known historical "Atlas of Ancient Geography," identified the Island of Salāng, i. e. Junkceylon, with the Island *Khalīne*, or *Salīne*, mentioned by Ptolemy. However, I place but little reliance on the variant *Salīne* appearing in some editions of Ptolemy's work; and from some experience gained in the course of researches on the Ptolemaic geography of Indo China, I came to the conclusion that Junkceylon, from its lying quite close to the mainland, has been treated as part of the latter, as instanced in analogous cases in the work of that geographer; and that therefore *Khalīne*, is almost undoubtedly the correct reading, and very probably designates Kar-Nikobar.

In this connection it may be of interest to point out that at a far later period Hakluyt, in his "Epistle Dedicatorie" prefaced to the voyage of Sir James Lancaster, terms Junkceylon "the *mainland* of *Juncalaon*."

Judging from the only ancient inscription that has so far turned up in the neighbouring Takôpa district, the main bulk of settlers from India in those parts must have been Drāvidians, hailing from Kalinga and more southern districts on the East coast of India where Tamil was spoken. Although these adventurers formed the ruling and trading classes of the population, they do not seem to have founded any important State in this particular region which appears to have remained until the middle of the eleventh century, or thereabout under the sway of Pegu, a kingdom likewise founded by immigrants from Kalinga, that had grown very powerful under their civilizing influence. When that kingdom was overthrown by the Burmese from Pagān in 1050-1057 and converted into a dependency of theirs, it is possible that the ruler of Ligor (Nagara Śrī Dharṃarāj) on the other side of the Malay Peninsula took advantage of that opportunity in order to annex Junkceylon and the neighbouring districts on the mainland, for—judging from extant records—Burmese domination on the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula did not at the period in question extend any further south than Tenasserim<sup>1</sup>; whereas, on the other hand, Ligor is known to have then had sway over the whole southern portion of the Peninsula as far down as the Straits. This State was itself, however, a more or less nominal dependency of Kamboja, which had been for many

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1. The story of the Pagān King Narapadisithu (Narapati-jayasūra)'s visit to Tavoy in 1204 is well known. At about the same period, a Pagān inscription informs us, he despatched a monk, Shin Araham, to the province of Tenasserim to procure a certain relic of the Buddha preserved there. Near the Shinkodaw pagoda about ten miles from Mergui an inscription has quite recently been found recording a gift to the pagoda by Nga Pon, the Royal Usurer of Tarok-pye-min, the king who reigned at Pagān from 1248 to 1285. I am indebted for information as regards this inscription to the kindness of Mr. Grant Brown, the present Deputy Commissioner for Tenasserim.

There can thus be no doubt as to Burmese possessions on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula having at this period included Tavoy and Tenasserim. But there is no evidence whatever that they extended any further south. With the rise of the Martaban kingdom under the protection of Sukhōthai in 1282, Tavoy and Tenasserim became tributary to Siām and continued as such for many centuries, although several times reduced to obedience by later kings of Martaban (in 1318, 1320-25, 1327); of Pegu; and, finally, of Burma.

centuries the suzerain power over all the Gulf of Siām and even the Straits, where its possessions were conterminous with those of the Palembang Empire.

In 1257 Siām threw off the secular Kambojan yoke, and went even to the length of invading Kamboja and dealing a death blow to that colossus then already tottering to its fall. All the possessions on the Malay Peninsula and the Straits were wrested from it, and became dependencies of the newly risen Thai empire that fixed its capital at Sukhōthai. Junkceylon Island, as part of the Ligor kingdom, followed the lot of this State, which continued to rule the Malay Peninsula as a tributary kingdom on behalf of Siām instead of Kamboja as heretofore. Of this novel status of Ligor we have positive evidence in the Sukhōthai inscription of 1283-1306 A. D.; which is the earliest extant epigraphic monument of the first Thai empire. After the overthrow of this by the second empire that had sprung up in 1350 with its capital at Ayuddhyā, all the former's possessions on the Malay Peninsula passed under the latter's domination; and thus we find in the Palatine Law called the Koṭ Monthierabāl (Kaṭa Mandirapāla) enacted in the course of the century immediately following, Ligor or Nagara Sṛi Dharmarāj classed as one of the eight tributary kingdoms of Ayuddhyā which were ruled by princes styled พระยา มหานคร. Of these there were two more on the Malay Peninsula further to the north, viz. Tanāvaśrī or Tenasserim, and Thawāi (Davāi) *i. e.* Tavoy; whereas in the south four petty tributary Malay States are mentioned, viz:

1. อุยง ตะหนะ, Ūjong Tānah, the then name of Johor;
2. มลกากา, Malākā, *i. e.* Malacca;
3. มลายู, Malāyū,—apparently the district on and about the Malāyū river, immediately adjoining Johor on the west;
4. วราริ, Worawārī (Varavārī), a district of difficult identification, but which may have been Mora-muār, *i. e.* Muār, below Malacca.

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1. See Laws of Siām, vol. II, p. 92 of 5th ed., 1888.

Although these Malay States sent the usual gold and silver trees of tribute directly to Ayuddhyā, they were, like other ones not mentioned (such as *e. g.* Pêrak and Kedah), under the tutelage of Ligor which continued in her rôle of policing the Malay Peninsula on behalf, at this period, of Ayuddhyā,<sup>1</sup> although not omitting like the States under her guardianship to rebel when opportunity offered and her suzerain relented his grip. But chastisement in such cases was not long to follow from headquarters and the unruly dependency was again made to feel the pressure of the iron hand and became the loser into the bargain; for whenever such soaring attempts on its part evidenced a dangerous exuberance of vitality, a wing-clipping cure was applied as a rule, by effect of which one or more valuable dependencies were severed from it and either attached to more loyal neighbouring principalities or placed under the direct control of the capital. Such was the case with Patāni, Kedah, and Ligor itself as we are going to see directly.

Besides the Malay States above referred to that were expected to periodically do homage and present the symbolical golden and silver trees directly to the suzerain at Ayuddhyā, there were other petty States purely Siānese further north on the Peninsula, which, though recognized as tributary, were required to perform such periodical demonstrations of allegiance through the medium of Ligor. Their status practically was, therefore, that of immediate dependencies of the Ligor kingdom. Such States were Singora, P'hattalung and P'hang-ngā, which had each to forward every year to Ligor two gold and two silver trees of one Tical weight of precious metal in each of them, besides a certain number of ornamented waxen tapers and a determined quantity of local produce. Every three years Ligor assembled together the tributary trees received during the period, which thus numbered 18 of gold and as many of silver, added to them its own ( 6 for each kind and year, or 18 of each kind for the three years ), and forwarded the whole ( 36 golden and 36 silver trees ) to Ayuddhyā, together with 1000 ornamented waxen tapers

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1. Witness the punitive Siānese expedition of A. D. 1502 against the rebellious Malacca, which was, as Nieuhoff informs us, under the command of the governor of Ligor.

and the several sorts of local produce collected. This custom for Ligor of sending these various shares of tribute triennially, must evidently have replaced an older one of forwarding it every year. In the course of time this system having been found to work unsatisfactorily owing to the loss of time and delays involved, it was substituted by the other one of triennial homage. But for the tributary States under Ligor, the ceremony was to be performed at the capital of the latter kingdom every year—apparently in September on occasion of the rite of drinking the water of allegiance—when the chiefs of those States had to proceed to Ligor and there do homage while taking at the same time their oath of loyalty by drinking the traditional adjured water.

Of most of this we have unimpeachable evidence in the account of Mendez Pinto who, having had occasion to visit Ligor in 1539 or 1540, tells us, that “14 petty Kings” were then subject to it, owing homage to Siām, and “that they were anciently obliged to make their personal repair unto *Odina* [Ayuddhyā], the Capital City of this Empire, as well to bring their Tribute thither, as to do the *Sumbaya*<sup>1</sup> to their Emperor, which was indeed to kiss the Courtelas that he ware by his side<sup>2</sup>; Now because this City was seated 50 Leagues within the Land, and the Currents of the Rivers so strong, as these Kings were oftentimes forced to abide the whole winter there to their great charge, they petitioned the *Prechau*,<sup>3</sup> King of Siam, that the place of doing this their homage might be altered; whereupon he was pleased to ordain, that for the future there should be a Vice-Roy resident in the Town of *Lugo* [Lugor, Ligor, Lakhon], which in their Language is called

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1. From Malay *Sembih*, *Sembayang* = to worship, to pay homage; in Khm̃r *Sompea*, *Sompea Krab*; sometimes spelled *Somba*, *Sumbay*, *Zombaye*, by later European writers. The explanation “a present; Malay *Sambah-an*” given in “Hobson-Jobson,” 2nd ed., p. 851, s. v. is therefore not quite correct.

2. This is an error; the feudatories were not required to kiss the King’s courtelas, but as still nowadays, to drink water in which weapons forming the instruments of punishment for high treason are dipped while the adjuring formulas of the oath are recited.

3. พระเจ้า, P’hrah Chāu, the Sacred Lord, i. e. His Majesty; something like “Holy Tzar.”



*Poyho*,<sup>1</sup> unto whom every three years those 14 Kings should render that duty and obedience they were accustomed to do unto himself, and that during that time they spent there in performing the same, being the whole month of *September*, both their own Merchandize and that of all others, as well natives as strangers, that either came in, or went out of the Country, should be free from all manner of imposts whatsoever.”<sup>2</sup> Thus we clearly see from the account of this eye-witness, that in or about 1540, the chiefs of the tributary States and provincial governors under Ligor, proceeded thereto to the number of 14 in the month of September of each year, to do homage and drink the water of allegiance. This ceremony has to be held, according to time-honoured custom, twice a year, viz. nowadays on the 3rd waxing of the 5th moon (about the end of March) and on the 13th waning of the 10th moon (September); but formerly it took place on the 15th waning of the 4th moon or on the 1st waxing of the 5th, and on the 15th waning of the 10th moon or on the 1st waxing of the 11th respectively. The shifting of these dates as above was effected on account of the national festivals and rejoicings that form an inseparable feature of the end of the 4th and 10th lunar months and the beginning of the 5th and 11th which mark the commencement of the new year and of the new half-year respectively, of which the drinking water ceremony occupied too large a share of the best time available for merry-making, thus proving somewhat of a gloomy damper on the general mirthfulness.

Among the tributary States mentioned above as being at the period under the immediate control of Ligor, the one in which we are chiefly interested here is that of P’hang ngā, 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫, for it then included Takūa-pā (Takôpa), besides C’halāng and P’hūket, the two districts into which Junkceylon Island was already apportioned. P’hang-ngā thus was a rather important State, whose

1. May be P’hyā, 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫, although the Ligor Viceroy’s rank was that of a Chāu-P’hyā.

2. “The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto,” transl. by Cogan; London, 1692, p. 43.

chiefs are known to have been at times of as high a rank as Chāu P'hyā, owing to the fact that it being situated near the western frontier of Siām, it became necessary to place it under an official of high station and ability so as to efficiently provide for its defence against eventual attacks from the Peguan side or raids from the Malay pirates that infested the sea of the Archipelago.

In the course of time, however, Ligor having become too powerful and therefore unruly, had its wings duly clipped in the shape of the severance from it of the three States of Singora, P'hattalung and P'hang-ngā which were placed under the immediate dependence of the capital to which they henceforth came directly to pay homage and present their tribute. Accordingly, the share of Ligor's contribution was reduced to six gold and six silver trees a year, the others being supplied independently of her by the States aforementioned. On the other hand, not long afterwards C'halāng, P'hūket and Takūa pā were detached from P'hang-ngā, as a result of which this latter State became so insignificant that it was relieved from the burden of sending the golden and silver trees of tribute which was thereupon shouldered on Takūa-pā. The tribute trees in question continued to be forwarded to the capital of Siām once a year from C'halāng, P'hūket and P'hang-ngā (and later on in the latter's stead by Takūa-pā); and once every three years by Ligor, until a few years ago when the new administrative reform of provincial government was introduced.

It is not difficult to guess the reasons why C'halāng, P'hūket and Takūa-pā were so early detached from P'hang-ngā. The advent of European nations in the East Indies as traders, colonists and empire makers that followed after Vasco da Gama's memorable navigation, led to a revival of the interoceanic trade that had come almost to a standstill since the time of the Arabs despite the laudable efforts of the mediaeval Italian Republics on the one side, and of the Chinese on the other to keep it alive and to stimulate the development of the natural resources in India, Indo-China, and the Malay Archipelago. The feat accomplished by the Portuguese through the discovery of a sea route to India, however, overtopped by its result all these achievements, as well as the far older ones in the same direction of the Greeks and, I should add, of the

Phoenicians, for these were beyond doubt the pioneer Western traders to India not only, but also to Further India.

Thus the impetus given to trade at the latter period was enormous, was unexampled; for soon every maritime European nation of some standing followed in the footsteps of the Portuguese and set about to strenuously dispute with them a share in the East Indian bounty. This rush had reached its climax by the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the one next following; and among the countries that immediately resented the beneficial effects of the novel vigorous impetus impressed to interoceanic trade was not least Siām, on account not only of her varied productions, but above all of her being in possession of the only tin yielding territories then known in the East.<sup>1</sup>

These territories, as we are all aware, were those of Takūa-pā, of Junkceylon Island, and Pêrak the mines of which latter, however, were not developed to their full extent until long afterwards.<sup>2</sup> Under such circumstances Junkceylon especially, being beyond doubt the richest of all in tin ore, assumed all of a sudden an unprecedented importance among Siāmesse possessions on the Malay Peninsula. And its mines, as well as those in

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1. The famous Bangka mines were not discovered until A. D. 1710.

2. The tin mines in Ligor, Singora, P'hattalung and O'hump'hon do not appear, judging from what Tavernier says, to have been discovered and opened until about 1640 A. D. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* for October 1904, p. 720. At this period tin was also mined in the Sŕi-Sawat ศรีสะเกษ province to the south-west of Nakhon Swan, for we learn from the Ayuddhyā annals (vol. I, pp. 297-98) that an albino elephant having been caught there in January 1659, King Nārāi exempted the people who had assisted in securing the precious quarry, from royalty on tin-mining in that district.

As regards the Malay Peninsula, in 1516 Barbosa mentions a dependency of Siām there under the name of *Caranguor*, in which tin abounded and whence it was brought to the city of Malacca to be shipped to foreign countries (Ramusio's "Navigationi et Viaggi," vol. I; Venetia, 1563, f. 317 verso). It is not easy to say which is the district meant under this designation of *Caranguor* which may be a mistake for *Caranguor*. It may be a question of either Selangor, Kalang, or C'halāng (Junkceylon) Island; if not of Sangora or Singora and even Trang (the *Taranque* of d'Albuquerque's Commentaries).

the Takūa-pā district received a far larger share of attention than heretofore, the export of tin being made at once a royal monopoly. Thus, the necessity of direct control from headquarters of the administration of the two mining centres was felt, and Takūa-pā, C'halāng and P'hūket were forthwith detached from under P'hang-ngā and placed under the immediate dependence of the central government at the capital of Siam.

Article 37 of the Law on Criminal Procedure, enacted apparently in A. D. 1623,<sup>1</sup> enjoins on all frontier posts and custom stations to prevent foreigners from surreptitiously buying agilla wood, sapanwood and tin, thus evidencing that these articles of produce had then already been made the object of royal monopoly. Licenses were, however, granted later on to Europeans to trade in tin not only at Junkceylon but in various districts on the Malay Peninsula. Among those recorded is the one dated the 6th November, 1675 in favour of the Hon. East India Company to buy that produce in C'hump'hon, C'haiyā, P'hun-p'hin (now Pān Dōn) and Thā-thong (now Kānchanadit), where mines had but recently been opened.<sup>2</sup> As to Junkceylon we are told that in 1677 a misunderstanding had arisen between the English authorities at Surat and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Ayuddhyā regarding some tin that had been lost at Junkceylon.<sup>3</sup> From several European accounts of the period which will duly be quoted in the next section of this paper, we learn that the working of the tin mines on that island was now in full swing, and the necessity of fully developing them led to the appointment of Europeans to govern Junkceylon. Two Frenchmen, as we shall see in due course, held that post between 1683 and 1689.

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1. กฎหมายอาญาหลวง, Laws, 5th ed., 1888, vol. II, p. 199. The date is set forth as 1776, year of the Hog (= A. D. 1431), which is unmistakeably a clerical slip, as the king then reigning bore a different title from the one given at the outset of this law, and no English and Dutch as mentioned in the article in question were as yet in sight in Siam. I propose therefore the correction B. E. 2166 = A. D. 1623, though it may yet have to be modified.

2. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, for October 1904, p. 722.

3. Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 137.

The necessity of coping with the situation created by the growth of foreign trade had led to the southern provinces of Siam being placed under the department for Foreign Affairs instead of under that of War as heretofore; and Junkceylon was, as a matter of course, of the number. This important administrative step was taken, according to Siamese records, under the reign of King Nārāi (A. D. 1658-1688). That such was already the case in 1681-5 we positively learn from Gervaise,<sup>1</sup> who adds however that the provinces on the East coast of the Gulf of Siam had by that ruler been placed under the Ok-yā Wang<sup>2</sup> in order to make this post more considerable. But it is not improbable that the measure referred to dates from an earlier period.

Such a state of things continued until 1782 when upon the advent of the dynasty presently reigning over Siam, Takūa-pā, Takūa thūng, P'hang-ngā, C'halāng (the jurisdiction of which then extended over the whole of Junkceylon Island), and the other provinces on the Malay Peninsula were withdrawn from the control of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and placed under that of the Ministry for War (Kalāhôm Department) as had originally been the case in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is unnecessary to pursue the present inquiry to a more recent period, since both Siamese and European records are plentiful enough as to permit of reconstructing the history of Junkceylon Island for the last two centuries. Such documents will serially be dealt

1. "Histoire du Royaume de Siam"; Paris, 1688, p. 79. "Le-second Ministre d'Estat est appelé *Praclanj* [P'hrāh Khlang, พระคลัง] ou plus communément *Barcalon*..... Comme il a l'Intendance generale de toutes les Côtes Maritimes depuis Piply [P'hejburī], jusqu'à Tennasserim, c'est à luy à veiller sur le Commerce, et à mettre en bon estat tous les Magazins du Roy." Then he refers to the ability displayed in holding that post by the late brother of the first Ambassador of Siam to France in 1685-87. The distinguished Minister referred to is Chāu P'hrayā Kosā (Lek), who died in 1683 after having held the post for fifteen years and acted also as Chakkri, or Minister for the Northern division of the kingdom, since 1630 or thereabout (op. cit., p. 80).

2. စတုဂ္ဂဟာ, R. Palace Warden, of which the Ministry of the Royal Household is the present historical continuation. The occupant of this post bore formerly *ex officio* the title of Ok-yā Tharamāthibodī (Dharmādhipati), with Ministerial rank.

with in the next section. If local records lack entirely for an earlier age it is mainly due, as it will now have become clear, to the fact that Junkceylon Island being then under the direct control of Ligor, little or nothing about its affairs and conditions transpired to the capital of Siām. No reference to it is to be found, it is true, in the chronicles of Ayuddhyā even for the subsequent period during which the island remained under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but as the few works that deal with Ayuddhyā history have been handed down only in a fragmentary form we must conclude either that whatever passages concerned Junkceylon have become lost, or that nothing of very great importance occurred there which the annalists thought worth the while to put on record.

On the other hand, in the course of the long Siāmo-Burmese war that followed the downfall of Ayuddhyā and the establishment of the new Siāinese capital at Bāngkōk, Junkceylon played no insignificant rôle and was several times the object of earnest attention on the part of both belligerents. As a result of this some very interesting episodes were evolved, on which local records throw far more light than can be obtained from foreign sources. We shall revert to these matters in due course when it will be seen how deservedly and at the cost of what heavy sacrifices the island succeeded at last in winning for itself a condign place in history.



## PART II.

## SERIAL NOTICES OF THE ISLAND.

## 1.—Older period : A. D. 1200 to 1782.

## CIRCA 1200.

The earliest reference to Junkceylon known to me in Eastern literature, occurs in the Kedah Annals translated by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low in the third volume of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*. We are told therein that Marong Mahāvamsa, the founder of Kedah, in the course of his journey thereto from India, sailed along the coast of Pegu reaching in due course Tavāi (Tavoy), Marit (Mergui) and Salāng (Junkceylon)<sup>1</sup> in the sea called Tāppān; and having cast anchor abreast of Salāng Island asked permission from the chief to take in wood and water, after which refreshments he continued his voyage. From various considerations which it would take too much space to refer to here, I have recently come to the conclusion that the foundation of Kedah, and therefore the sea journey mentioned in the above extract, took place on or shortly after A. D. 1200.<sup>2</sup> Our inferences as to Junkceylon being frequented from a very ancient period by trading ships on their route to and from India, receive thereby confirmation.

## 1512—GALVANO.

The earliest European mention of Junkceylon that I am aware of occurs in Galvano's valuable work written in about 1557;

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1. It is interesting to notice that the island is here termed Salāng and *not* Ujong Salāng; thereby evidencing that the second form of the name is of later growth. I have no access to the Malay text of the Kedah Annals and am therefore unable to verify the passage. But if, as seems certain, the text has simply Salāng, this would at once dispose of Mr. Skeat's wild flights of imagination on *jong*, and 'heavily tossing' junks, etc., referred to above (p. 2).

2. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* for July 1905, pp. 495-499.

but dates back to about 1512 when, we are told, Albuquerque sent a second mission to Siām (the first one had been despatched in 1511), putting in charge of it a knight called Ruy Nunes da Cunha. This envoy went "unto the citie of Pera and on this side of *Iunsalam*, and to many other populations standing along this coast, where Duarte Fernandes had been before [in 1511]." <sup>1</sup>

1539—MENDEZ PINTO.

Soon after comes Mendez Pinto, who severally refers to Junkceylon as follows (the no. of page is that of Cogan's translation, London, 1692).

1539—"passing by the Port of *Junculan*" (for Junçalan), p. 22.

1545—*Juncalan* (p. 189); *Juncalan*, one of the seaports where trade fell on account of Portuguese scorings along the coast (p. 189); "Coast of *Juncalan*" (p. 207);

1548—"a place called Tilau [Pāk Lāu, or Trang ?], which is besides *Juncalan*, on the South East Coast, neer to the Kingdom of *Quedea* [Kedah], an hundred and forty leagues from *Malaca*" (p. 280); *Juncalo* (p. 285).

1588—RALPH FITCH.

On the 10th January, 1580, the famous traveller Ralph Fitch sailed from Pegu for Malacca, passing en route the Islands of "*Tanaseri*, *Iunsalaon*, and many others." <sup>2</sup>

1583-1592—LINSCHOTEN.

Speaking of Pêrak, Linschoten says: "...there is found much *calaem* [tin], which is like tinne, there commeth likewise of the same from *Gunsalan*, a place lying upon the same coast North north west, from Queda 30. miles, under 8 degrées and a halfé." <sup>3</sup> Despite these

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1. "...à cidade de Perú, & aqué da Iunsalão, & outras muytas pouoações q'jazem ao longo desta ribeira, por onde ja Duarte Fernandez viera." (Galvano's "Discoveries of the World," Hakl. Soc. 1862, p. 114). I had to somewhat modify the wording in the English version quoted above, as the translator, curiously enough, took *ribeira* to simply mean a river, whereas in the present instance it has the sense of coast, just like the Italian *riviera*.

2. J. H. Ryley's "Ralph Fitch"; London, 1899, p. 178.

3. "Voyage of van Linschoten"; Hakl. Soc., 1885; vol. I, p. 104.



precise enough indications the recent editors of the English translation quoted here have, strange to say, failed to recognize *Junçalan*, i. e. Junkceylon under the not very opaque travesty of *Gunsalan*; that is, anyhow, the only inference that can be drawn in view of the fact that they have kept a prudent silence on this toponym in their footnotes, and even omitted it from the Index.

## OCTOBER 1592—BARKER.

We now come to what I believe to be the first European account of a visit to the island, which is due to the pen of Edmund Barker, lieutenant in Sir James Lancaster's fleet. This very interesting narrative is, to the following effect.

"And doubting the forces of Malacca, we departed thence to a baie, in the kingdome of *Junsalaom*, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier [a Portuguese], which the captaine of the aforesaid galion had left behind him with us, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came unto vs. We sent commodities to their king to barter for ambergriese, and for the hornes of *abath* [=rhinoceros], whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this *abath* is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female unicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soueraigne remedie against poyson. We had onely two or three of these hornes, which are the colour of a browne grey, and some reasonable quantitie of amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandise; but he to get aboard vs, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire; for hope whereof he let him returne aboard, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast..., " etc.<sup>1</sup>

Although not unfortunately saying anything about tin works

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1. "The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies"; Hakl. Soc., 1877, pp. 14-15.

on the island, this account supplies us with several interesting details that make it invaluable, and indeed unique for the sixteenth century. It will have been noticed that Junkceylon is here termed a kingdom, and its ruler a king ( corresponding to the Malay *rāja*, applied to any petty chief or princelet ). This confirms what we have stated in our introductory section as regards the status of the island at the period in question, which was that of a tributary State to Siām placed, however, under the immediate control of Ligor. The bay where the fleet anchored is, no doubt, that of Thā-Rūa which we shall see later, was much frequented by shipping. The pitch for trimming the ships referred to is, of course, Damar, in Siāmesese น้ำ น้หยาง, from the *Dipterocarpus* or oil tree. The mention of ambergris among the chief exports of the island is important; and we shall find it confirmed nearly a century later. It would be interesting to learn whether such a valuable product is still collected in such considerable quantities about the shores of the island. Such does not seem to be the case nowadays, although spermaceti whales are said to be even at present numerous enough in the surrounding sea. On the whole it will be seen that with its tin, rhinoceros horns, ambergris, resins, wood-oil, and so forth to barter with outlandish commodities; and with its well sheltered bays the island must have offered sufficient inducements to foreign shipping which, no doubt, resorted thereto in considerable numbers.

## 1598—HAKLUYT.

We have already had occasion to notice that Hakluyt, in his “Epistle Dedicatorie,” calls the island “the mainland of *Junçalaon*,” which argues that in his time its insular character was by no means generally known to Western navigators.

## 1606—BOCARRO.

Antonio Bocarro, in his “*Decada 13 da Historia da India*” (Lisboa, 1876) has the following passing references to the island:—

1606—Junçalao, a seaport (p. 135).

1615—Ponta de Junçalao (p. 130) by which I suppose he means the southern point of the island. This seems to support

the view that the Malay designation Ujong-Salāng really applied to the southern end of the island only.

1639—MANDELSLO.

Mandelslo speaks of *Juncalaon* town which he wrongly includes in the Kingdom of Malacca, by which he means the Malay Peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

1662-63—DE BOURGES.

De Bourges enumerates *Iansalom* among the 11 provinces of the Kingdom of Siām.<sup>2</sup>

1671—CATHOLIC MISSION.

In or soon after 1671 a Catholic branch mission was started from the Siāmesse capital on the island by the Bishop de Bérýthe who sent there a Portuguese priest by the name of Perez. It seems that Portuguese settlers were pretty numerous there at this period, and the mission soon prospered. But owing to want of labourers at headquarters M. Perez had to be recalled in 1673 to Ayuddhyā where in the month of May of that year he greeted the Bishop of Heliopolis on his arrival from Europe.<sup>3</sup>

1677.

In 1677, as already noticed on a preceding page (17) a misunderstanding had arisen between the English authorities at Surat and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Ayuddhyā regarding some tin that had been lost at Junkceylon.

1681—85. GERVAISE.

Gervaise, who resided in Siām from 1681 to 1685 attached to the Catholic mission at Ayuddhyā, sets forth the advantages of the port of *Jonsalam* which, he says,<sup>4</sup> is situated to the west of the

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1. "Voyages de Perse aux Indes Orientales par le Sr. Jean-Albert de Mandelslo"; Amsterdam, 1727, p. 334.

2. "Relation du Voyage de Mgr. l'Evêque de Beryte, par M. de Bourges"; 2nd ed., Paris 1668, pp. 141-42.

3. "History of the Churches," etc., in the *China Review*, vol. XVIII, p. 10. Pallegoix' "Description du Royaume de Siam," Paris, 1854, vol. II, p. 143; Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 235.

4. "Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam"; Paris, 1688.

Malay Peninsula in about 8° lat., between the mainland and an island that bears its name and lies only two leagues off. The only defect of this seaport is, that it is not deep enough for large vessels; but a large fine roadstead near it can successfully do duty as harbour. It is a place of refuge for all vessels proceeding to the Coromandel coast when surprised by storms, which usually occur during the months of July and August; and is of great importance for the trade of Bengal, Pegu, and other neighbouring kingdoms (pp. 14-15). Evidently, the port here meant is that of Thā Rūa. Further on he states that the Dutch have often set their eyes upon the Island of *Jonsulam*, because there are to be found some small quantities of gold and ambergris, and plenty of *calin* (tin)<sup>1</sup>; but the King (of Siām.) has entrusted the government of the island to a Frenchman (Charbonneau, see below) who finds himself well there and has no mind to permit them to enter it (p. 32.)

1685—CHOISY.

The gossipy Abbé de Choisy tells us in his "Journal"<sup>2</sup> that *Joncelung*, a seaport on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, abounds in *calain* (tin) and ambergris.

1685—CHAUMONT.

Chaumont simply mentions *Josalam* among the 11 provinces of Siām in a list seemingly copied from De Bourges (p. 160); and adds that tin was shipped by the King's junks for China, the Coromandel coast, and Surat (pp. 150, 155).<sup>3</sup>

THE FRANCO-SIAMESE TRADING-CONVENTION OF 1685.—

TIN MONOPOLY AT JUNKCEYLON GRANTED TO FRANCE.

However, the two French envoys, Chaumont and Choisy, knew a good deal more about the island than they give us to understand in their books, where all their political doings in connection

1. The alleged Dutch designs upon Junkceylon and Tenasserim are already set forth in the letter of Deslandes (the chief agent in Siām of the Compagnie des Indes) to Baron, dated December 26th, 1682.—See Lanier's "Étude Historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam"; Versailles, 1883; p. 30.

2. Paris, 1741; p. 397.

3. "Relation de l'Ambassade de M. le Chevalier de Chaumont," etc.; 3rd ed., Paris 1687.

with the establishment of French influence and trade monopolies in Siām are most scrupulously skipped over. We now full well know from the documents of that period preserved in the archives of the French Government, that besides the published treaty granting privileges to the apostolic missionaries in Siām signed at Louvo (Lop'hburī) on the 10th December 1685, a particular convention was likewise drawn up by the two signatories—Chaumont and Phaulcon—according most advantageous prerogatives to the Compagnie des Indes, not least of which was the monopoly of the tin trade on *Joncelang* Island, with the permission to build there a factory.<sup>1</sup> Whether such a building was erected or not does not transpire; but as French governors continued to be appointed to the island, there seems to be no doubt that a small French settlement sprang up there.

#### 1687—LA LOUBERE.

Of all writers of this period La Loubère is the one who supplies us with the most important information on Siām, and therefore also on Junkceylon. Subjoined are the passages bearing on this island culled from the English translation of his valuable book.<sup>2</sup>

“They have another [mountain of loadstone] also near *Jonsalam*, a City seated in an Island of the Gulph of Bengal, which is not above the distance of a Mans voice from the Coast of Siam but the Loadstone which is dug at *Jonsalam* loses its vertue in three or four Months.” (p. 14) “...Salt may...cost too much to make, as in the Island of *Jonsalam*, the inhabitants whereof do rather chuse to import their Salt from Tenasserin” (p. 84).

“The *Calin* or Tin.—All the *Calin* is his [the King's], and he sells it as well to Strangers as to his own Subjects, excepting that which is dug out of the Mines of *Jonsalam* on the Gulph of Bengal; for this being a remote Frontier, he leaves the Inhabitants in their ancient Rights, so that they enjoy the Mines which they dig, paying a small profit to this Prince” (p. 94). Thus, under the reign of King Nārāi, the islanders still enjoyed the privilege of working their tin-mines by paying a royalty in the form of a certain

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1. See Lanier, *op. cit.*; p. 67.

2. “A new Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam,” London, 1693.

share on their net produce. This system seems to have continued until some time prior to 1821 when we hear for the first time of the tin mines of Junkceylon being farmed (see below).

“Brother René Charbonneau...after having been a Servant of the Mission of St. Lazarus at Paris, had passed to the Service of the Foreign Missions and was gone to Siam [in 1677].....by his Industry knew how to let blood, and give a Remedy to a sick Person. ...He was afterwards three or four years [circa 1681-1685] Governor of *Jonsalam* by Commission, and with great approbation: and because he desired to return to the City of Siam [Ayuddhya] to his Wife's Relations, which are Portugueses, Mr. Billi, the Master of Mr. de Chaumont's Palace, succeeded him in the Employment of *Jonsalam*” (p. 91).—This must have been at about the end of 1685 or the beginning of 1686, as the Chevalier de Chaumont was in Siām from the 24th September to the 22nd December 1685.

Anderson, after having told us<sup>1</sup> that Charbonneau, the first medical missionary to Siām, arrived in the country in 1677 and was at once employed in a hospital established by the King, comments as follows on his appointment to the governorship of the island of Junkceylon.—“How far this appointment had been brought about by the influence of the Vicars-Apostolic is unknown, but in the light of after events, it seems even more probable that it had been made at their suggestion, and that this was the first active or overt step taken by them to forward French influence in the kingdom to the detriment of other nations, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, who had been in the country long before them, and who had materially contributed to promote its commercial prosperity. Being in no way an appointment connected with the Church, it can only be regarded as the beginning of the great effort made by the Jesuits, later on, to obtain for their nation supreme political supremacy over Siām.” These comments seem justified only to a slight extent. Junkceylon—as we have seen Gervaise informs us, a year or more before the question arose of Charbonneau's appointment, and as Deslandes' letter confirms since 1682,—had been more than once coveted by the Dutch; and it was

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1. “English Intercourse with Siam,” pp. 240-241.

certainly the desire of the Siānese Court to prevent it falling into their hands. Furthermore, it was entirely against his inclination and only when signified that "the King of Siam absolutely requir'd it,"—we learn from La Loubère (p. 91)<sup>1</sup>—that Charbonneau proceeded to build a wooden fort on the Pegu frontier. It must have been as a result of his having honourably acquitted himself in the fulfilment of this task, that he was chosen for the governorship of Junkceylon Island which he cannot very willingly have held, since he resigned the office after three or four years and preferred to return to his family circle in Ayudhhyā. The appointment of another Frenchman to succeed him, far from having being inspired by the Vicars-Apostolic, was evidently but a natural consequence of the Franco-Siānese trading convention signed in the course of Chaumont's mission in 1685. This is shown by the very fact of the Master of Chaumont's household being designated to fill the post.

#### 1689—THE FRENCH NAVAL DEMONSTRATION AT JUNKCEYLON.

As a result of the revolution that took place in Siām in the spring of 1688, Desfarges, the French officer in command of the citadel of Bāngkok, had to evacuate the place with his troops on the 2nd November of the same year and embark for Pondichery which he reached on January 31st 1689. There had arrived some two weeks before that the débris of the French detachment that garrisoned Mergui. A council being held of the military and civil authorities present at the place, it was resolved, among other things, to occupy Junkceylon Island, so as to be able to easily come to terms with the new power that swayed over Siām. Desfarges still held, contrary to what should have been, three distinguished Siānese officials as hostages, and it was hoped that through their means negotiations could be reopened and some satisfactory arrangement easily come to. Five ships being placed at his disposal by the Pondichery authorities, he sailed for Junkceylon in February, with his officers and 330 soldiers.

Immediately upon coming at anchor in Thā-rūa harbour, Desfarges set about to renew the connection that had been broken

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1. A phrase misconstrued by Anderson (op. cit., p. 241) as applying to Charbonneau's appointment to Junkceylon.

with Siām. So he wrote to the P'hrah Khlang announcing his return, that he had brought the hostages with him, that all he wanted was peace, and all he claimed was that the Frenchmen held captive in Siām should be returned to him, as well as his baggage that had been detained behind when he left the mouth of the Bāng-kōk river. This message was sent overland to the Siāmesese capital and reached it towards the end of August 1689, according to Pallegoix. The Bishop of Metellopolis, the only one of the hostages left there by Desfarges who had not broken his faith and fled, did his best to persuade the Siāmesese officialdom not to allow such a fine opportunity of reconciliation to pass away. But his arguments were of no avail: the Siāmesese refused to consider the matter, and strict orders were sent to the local authorities at Junkceylon not to supply either victuals, water, or provisions of whatever sort to the French there and to lay hands on such of them as attempted to land.

Surprised at meeting with so much stubbornness, Desfarges tried his hand once more at peace-making on somewhat different lines. On the 27th August he sent out one of the Siāmesese hostages with two letters for the P'hrah Khlang. In one, coming from his pen, he solicited the dispatching of envoys, accompanied by the Bishop of Metellopolis, to Junkceylon in order to conclude a treaty. The other letter, signed by Véret, the unscrupulous and mischievous *quoniam* chief of the French factory at Ayuddhyā, treated of commercial affairs, and demanded from the King of Siām the cession of Junkceylon Island to the Compagnie des Indes. "*L'effronterie de Véret ne se démentait pas,*" observes Lanier at this juncture.

After long deliberation the Siāmesese Court replied that the Christian captives would not be delivered until Desfarges released the last two hostages he held. The French commander gave way at last. The season was far advanced, so after freeing one of the hostages he sailed for Bengal with three ships. Twelve days after, M. de Vertesale, the second in command, left Junkceylon in his turn with the rest, after having released the last Siāmesese official detained as security and sent along with him the two interpreters Ferreux and Pinchero who were to make in due course known to the Siāmesese Court the rectitude of intents with which the French expedition had



proceeded to Junkceylon. The whole party ultimately reached Siām on the 5th December 1689, with the welcome announcement that the French vessels had withdrawn from Junkceylon bound to Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Thus ended this barren attempt at re-establishing cordial relations with Siām. Lanier speaks of it as an occupation of Junkceylon, but arguing from what precedes there appears to have been no actual occupation whatever of the island. The French fleet seems to have merely lain at anchor in the harbour, and if the orders received from headquarters were strictly carried out by the local authorities, its men can have had but little chance of setting their foot on shore. Mr. Billi, the French governor appointed in 1685, was apparently no more in charge. If occupation there was, it must have been of some islet in or about the harbour. It is interesting to notice in this connection, that one of such came to be known to navigators as *French Island* (see below, under the date 1779), owing presumably to its having been temporarily held or availed of by the crews of that fleet. The expedition was therefore, to all intents and purposes, a mere peaceful naval demonstration, as harmless and useless as may be imagined. It may indeed be said to have utterly ruined the French cause at the Siānese capital, for the news of Desfarges' arrival at Junkceylon led there to a recrudescence of ill-feeling and to reprisals against the missionaries and their converts.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1700-1719—HAMILTON.

Not long after the above events Junkceylon was visited between 1700 and 1719 by Captain Alexander Hamilton in the course of his various trips along the West coast of the Malay Peninsula. Needless to say that this well informed writer whose "New Account of the East Indies"<sup>3</sup> offers—according to Professor

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1. Cf. Lanier, op. cit., pp. 172-174; Pallegoix, vol. II., pp. 188, 190; and Anderson, op. cit., p. 383. The last-named author makes one of his most glaring blunders in confounding this expedition, which took place in 1689, with the cruise of Admiral Duquesne-Guitton's squadron in the Gulf of Bengal which took place in 1690 and had nothing to do with Junkceylon or, for that matter, with any part of the Malay Peninsula.

2. Cf. Lanier, op. cit., p. 175.

3. In 2 vols 8vo: 1st ed., Edinburgh, 1727; 2nd ed., London, 1744.

Laughton—"a closer parallel to the history of Herodotus than perhaps any other in modern literature," has left us one of the best old accounts of the island which is here subjoined.<sup>1</sup>

"The next place of any commerce on this coast [West coast of the Malay Peninsula] is the island of *Jonkceyloan*; it lies in the dominions of the King of Siam. Between *Merjee* [Mergui] and *Jonkceyloan* there are several good harbours for shipping, but the sea-coast is very thin of inhabitants, because there are great numbers of freebooters, called *salleiters*,<sup>2</sup> who inhabit islands along the sea coast, and they both rob, and take people for slaves, and transport them for *Atcheen*, and there make sale of them, and *Jonkceyloan* often feels the weight of their depredations.

"The north end of *Jonkceyloan* lies within a mile of the continent, but the south end is above three leagues from it. Between the island and the continent is a good harbour for shipping in the south-west monsoons, and on the west side of the island *Puton* [Patong, ปัต่อง] bay is a safe harbour in the north-east winds. The islands afford good masts for shipping, and abundance of tin, but few people to dig for it, by reason of the afore-mentioned outlaws, and the governors being generally Chinese, who buy their places at the court of Siam, and, to reimburse themselves, oppress the people, in so much that riches would be but a plague to them, and their poverty makes them live an easy, indolent life.

"Yet the villages on the continent drive a small trade with shipping that come from the Choromandel coast and Bengal, but both the buyer and seller trade by retail, so that a ship's cargo is a long time in selling, and the product of the country is as long in purchasing." (p. 431).

Further on Hamilton, speaking of an albino elephant he saw at the Siamese capital, notices that "he is only of a cream colour,

1. Culled from vol. VIII of Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages, London 1811, which reproduces it *in extenso*; as I have no access to the original work.

2. *Selat* or Malay pirates, called by old writers *Celates*, *Salettes*, etc.

and I have seen several at *Bangarie* [Bāng Khli, บ้าง คีลี]<sup>1</sup> a village near *Junkceylon*, as white as him." (p. 470).

It will thus be seen that the reaction consequent on the Siānese revolution of 1688, which stifled the great progress that had been made during the preceding thirty years in the development of the country and its trading relations with abroad, had lethal effects on Junkceylon as well. With no more armed vessels or garrisons to defend the coast this was incessantly exposed to the incursions of the Malay pirates, while the former European governors of the island had been replaced by unscrupulous Chinamen who have ever since proved, while holding official posts, the real bane of the island. So the oppressed people had no alternative but to idle away their time, and tin mines lay almost untouched. Interesting is Hamilton's mention of Patong Bay (he is, to my belief, the first writer that has referred to it), which must have been known to navigators as a place of refuge during the north-east monsoon long before his time. On the whole his account, especially from a seaman's point of view, is a very correct one, and closes the available series of European sidelights on the island for the period during which the Siānese capital stood at Ayuddhyā.

1779—DR. KOENIG.

The next learned traveller to visit Junkceylon was Dr. Koenig, a prominent Danish botanist and pupil of Linnaeus who held from 1768 several appointments as medical attendant and naturalist in India. At the end of 1778 he started on a scientific expedition to Siām where P'hyā Tāk had set up as king; and on his way back to India in 1779 he stayed for several months at Junkceylon, of which in his usual enthusiastic spirit he studied the fauna and flora, extending his researches to several of the neighbouring smaller islands. The voluminous account of his travels, written in Danish and preserved in MS. in the British Museum collections, lay quite ignored to the public until the portions of it relating to Siām and the Malay Peninsula were well advisedly translated into English

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1. This is the *Bangery* of the map of Siām accompanying La Loubère's work (1690), and lies on a bay on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula a short distance to the north of Pak-P'rahā Strait.

and published in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.<sup>1</sup>

His chief interest lying in investigations concerning natural history, he has, as a matter of course, designedly neglected other points of more general interest. Nevertheless, his narrative contains many valuable items of information on the geography and political events of the countries he visited; whereas in his special field he was certainly the first savant to make a scientific study of the flora and fauna of Siam, and perhaps the only one who ever investigated those of Junkceylon.<sup>2</sup> The account of his researches in this and adjacent islands alone occupies altogether no less than 30 pages of print, hence it can only be here summarized, leaving out matters that would merely interest specialists. The very bad handwriting of the MS. has proved no small source of difficulty to the translator, especially in the making out of proper names, which moreover seem to have been taken down only in a somewhat slovenly manner so as to still further intensify their puzzling character. Hence but conjectural identifications could at times be offered here. Such of them as will be found accompanied by a query should be further examined by those well acquainted with the local topography, as they are still open to correction.

**1st visit.**—On the 19th March, 1779, Dr. Kœnig arrived in the neighbourhood of Junkceylon in the ship “Bristol” commanded by Captain Francis Light, the well known founder of Penang in after years.—“We passed a very pleasant-looking island, *Pullu Pausang* [Pulo Panjang, in Siam. Koh Yāu-yai, เกาะยาวใหญ่], and straight before us in a narrow strait we saw many differently shaped rocks, projecting from the sea, the biggest among them had the most

1. No. 26 (Jan. 1894) pp. 59–201; and No. 27 (October 1894) pp. 57–133.

2. In the third volume of “*Études Diverses*” of the Mission *Pavie* (Paris, 1904) his name and his work are totally ignored, and in the preface Henry Mouhot is represented as having been the first naturalist to visit the interior of Indo-China. Long before him, however, Dr. Kœnig had been botanizing in the environs of Ayuddhyā and Chanthabūn, besides exploring the interior of Junkceylon. He is thus incontestably the pioneer, and deserves not only to be remembered in connection with botanical and zoological discovery in Indo-China, but his place and merits should duly be recognized in works purporting to deal with this subject in an impartial spirit.

peculiar shape. The anchor was cast at three o'clock in the afternoon between the islands of *Pullu Salang* [Pulo Alang, Siām. เกาะ ชลัง], which consist of two islands, one smaller than the other.

"24.—Early I went to the tin smelting place and botanized; at four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the first hamlet, which is called *Ringluy* [Rông Lúei, โรงเล็ย=Saw Shed], and is the largest of them all; an hour after we came to *Kockren* [Koh?].<sup>1</sup> I saw the manner of smelting in the evening.

"25.—I went to the mine which lies about a quarter of a mile from *Kockren*. The way passes through a dense forest. From there I went further to a place the tin of which was exhausted.

"26.—Went back across the mountains, and arrived at twelve o'clock in *Tarmah* [Thā-Rüa, ท่าเรือ, then capital of the P'huket district].

"28.—I went to the island *Pullu Sallang Minor* [Koh Alang Nöi], with the boat, the crew of which was to cut and fetch wood for the ship. I found many remarkable things. At five o'clock the ship went under sail." (Op. cit., No. 26, pp. 197-198).

Being caught in a heavy storm when near the Nikobars, which so wildly belaboured the old ship as to make it unsafe to proceed, they were forced to turn back towards Junkceylon which they reached on April 30th.

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1. This is a most puzzling toponym, the initial word of which is evidently Koh, เกาะ, meaning an island; though Khök, โขก, a patch of rising ground, is not impossible, however unsupported by circumstantial evidence. Further on our author distinctly speaks of it as an island — "the island of *Cockren*" — thus leading one to connect it with the islet of Koh Klüei, เกาะกล้วย, lying close by the north-eastern corner of the Lüm Yā-mū peninsula. However, as a tin mine is stated by him to have existed at a quarter of a mile from *Kockren*, the foregoing inference loses much of its value, and one would incline to look for the locality in question either to the south-east or to the north-west of Thā-Rüa village, where tin has been and is still worked. In the last named direction exists a hamlet bearing the name of Bān Bāng Koh, บ้านบางเกาะ, "Island Creek Village;" but this can hardly be Dr. Koenig's *Cockren* or *Cockreu*. So the final identification of this place-name must be left to local investigators.

2nd visit.—“30.—We arrived between the islands [i. e. the three islands northward from Lêm Ngā, แล่นงา, and southward from the Alangs] and cast anchor towards midday near a small island [Koh Mali, เกาะมะลิ]. There we found two English ships, that of Captain James Scott and that of Captain Theserten [Peters, or Petersen]” (p. 201). This stray hint evidences how frequented by shipping was the island at this period.

“May 1.—In the afternoon I went to an island called *Kopran* [Koh Map'hrāu เกาะมะพร้าว, which name—like most long words in the local parlance—is usually contracted into Koh Ph'rāu], which was at 1000 steps' distance [westward] from the ship...I turned my attention first to a prominent mountain peak. It consisted of clayey very fine stone, which varied much in colour; most of it was grey, some was green, black or pink. It did not form any big blocks, but strong ferruginous veins divided it into many irregular parts. This kind of stone is used by the Siamese to write their books with, which books consist of black cardboard. They cut the stone into small sticks, one inch in length<sup>1</sup> and half as thick as a quill.....” (Op. cit., No. 27, p. 57).

“3.—“At midday I went again to this island...First of all I visited the huts of some Malays and learned from them that they boil the large *Holothuria* [beche-de-mer] first in salt water; after that they are put on a stand, which is made of split bamboo, is half a man high, two yards broad and six feet long. They kindle a bright fire underneath this stand, which has the effect of both drying and smoking the *Holothuria*” (pp. 58-59).

“6.—I went to an island which lay one mile northward from our ship.<sup>2</sup> My researches were soon interrupted by the arrival of

1. A clerical error has widently crept in here. These steatite slate pencils, called Din-so Hín, ดิน สอ หิน, in Siamese, are about 6 inches in length. Those made from soft yellow chalk are termed คน สอ เหลือง.

2. The island here alluded to is Koh Khob, เกาะขบ. The position of the ship thereby becomes fixed at  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile eastward from Koh Map'hrāu,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile westward from Koh Mali, and 1 mile southward from Koh Khob.

seven or eight Malay *praus*, whose neighbourhood is always dangerous for all Europeans.....After 8 o'clock the anchor was weighed to go to *Tamah* [Thā-Rūa Harbour], where we had been a month ago.

"7.—We travelled between the islands of *Pullu Penjang* [Panjang] and the *Lehlands* [Alangs], as far as the French island,<sup>1</sup> but the ship did not advance.....; therefore the anchor was cast..."

"8.—We tried again to get near the land,.....and at four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at *Tamah* [Thā Rūa Harbour]. (p. 60).

"22.—I took the road, leading to *Cockreu* [? Koh...], which was very muddy and often intersected by rivulets.....In a very dark wood, often traversed by the rhinoceros, I found on their dung a special kind of *Boletus stipitatus*. The roots consisted of a bulb...

"23.—I went again to the place in the wood which is often flooded by the sea....." (p. 62).

"24.—A tiger visited our house, but was satisfied with only one goose for this time, which he carried away with him to his hiding place, which was about 200 yards from our house in a dense opening wood at the back of the house....."

"27, 28.—I continued to collect insects. Towards evening I met a wild elephant, from which I had to escape. The bishop of these parts<sup>2</sup> told me that the leaves of *Sussa Radja* [Malay *Bakung Suasa*=*Susum anthelminticum*?].....are used as vesicatories....." (pp. 62-63).

"30.—We went to our ship, which lay in the harbour, but we had much trouble to reach it, on account of the many trees floating in the water, cast there by recent storms.....

1. See above, p. 30. This now appears to be Koh P'hēh, ကော့ ပျော့ to the north of the Alangs.

2. The author doubtless means the Buddhist head-priest of the place. There was at least one Buddhist monastery, วัด ท้าย น้ำ พัง by the river bank at Thā-Rūa, as will be seen further on.

"31.—I went to the larger *Pullu Salang* [Alang], which is only separated from the smaller island by a narrow passage, it is twice as large as the smaller one, and lies parallel with the land, stretching from North-East to South-West.....After low tide we returned to our ship, which lay three miles from this island.....

"June 1-2—I had an opportunity to send some intelligence of my present condition to my friends on the coast of Bengal, as Captain Peters returned thither.....

"3.—Captain Peters took all my letters. His ship took tin from our captain and left the harbour in the afternoon to sail for its destination.....

"4.—I went to *Pullu Jambu* [Lēm Yāmū, แผลมยัน],<sup>1</sup> an island, which might rather be called a land-point because only a swamp, which is only flooded at high tide, separates it from the island Junkceylon. It has the same direction as the two *Salangs* [Alangs] and on entering the harbour it lies on the right-hand side. It consists of two middling high but narrow mountains, which are separated by a valley. The front part of this island is closely covered with high trees; there seems to be one place in the valley which is not overgrown with trees, and also a hill, which lies in front of the mountain furthest inland, and seems not to produce any trees, but is covered with a kind of light green grass, which gives a very pleasant view in the distance. Unfortunately, however, this grass grows to almost a man's height and consists of a kind of sugarcane.... The bamboo and the sugarcane make this island a favourite resort for elephants, therefore as soon as one comes into the jungle, one finds many paths made by the elephants, and that these paths originate from them is shown by their dung, which one finds everywhere. I was told that there were specially white elephants with their young ones living here, the latter however were of the ordinary colour; but I should not like to pledge myself for the truth of this assertion. ... (pp. 64-66).

"12.—At breakfast I was treated to some rhinoceros hide. ... The rhinoceros are said to visit this island from time to time. ... (pp. 68-69).

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1. Incorrectly marked in charts as *Lem Jam*.



"16...among other corals, there are many fleshy corals on these shores...In the evening I was fetched out one and a half mile, to the ship of Captain Welsh, which had just arrived from the coast of Sumatra... (pp. 70-71.)

"19...the splendid cone of the *Amonim* showed to perfection. It has a carmine red colour, and is often eaten by the Siamese, who call it *Kalch* [ Khā ... ? ] <sup>1</sup> ...The Siamese told me that the elephants too are very fond of this cone... (p. 73.)

"In the afternoon I sent my boy and some of the Siamese to fetch me some beetles of which they had spoken. They said that this beetle builds its nest one foot deep in the ground, by preference in such places where the wild elephants have left their dung. In the evening they came back with fifteen beetles of a very large kind, which resemble the *Scarabaea acten* [ ? ] : The Siamese wash these insects, fry them, and eat them with great appetite; they assured me that they had an excellent taste, which opinion my captain confirmed, who had himself eaten them, prepared in some other manner. I am convinced that they contain many particles of fat....The Siamese call these insects *Fhu-zi*, vel *Tzuh-tzhi* <sup>2</sup> ..... (p. 75).

1. If an *Amomum* (misread *Amonim*), i. e. a zinziberacea, it may be either Khā, ข่า, (*Alpinia galangas*); Phlai, ไพล; Proh, เปราะ, often pron. Ploh (*Kaempferia galangas*); Reu, เระ (*Amomum villosum*), or similar. Perhaps Khā-ling ข่าลิง, a wild variety of *Alpinia*.

2. The kind of insect here referred to would at first sight hardly seem to be aught else than the *Tua Bīng*, ตัวบึ้ง, which nests in holes underground and is eaten roasted in the fire, its eggs being also relished. If so, Dr. Koenig might have written down its name in the form of *Tuh-byng*. There is, however, a serious difficulty confronting us here. The *Tua Bīng* is *Melopæus albostrigatus*, the largest variety of mygale found in Indo-China; and it is known that mygales are eaten boiled or stewed in Siam, Laos and Kamboja; while their eggs are considered a delicacy. But the insect referred to by Dr. Koenig is described as a beetle and must evidently belong to the family of Scarabeidae; for it is impossible to conceive that a naturalist of his standing would speak of a mygale as such. Among beetles I only know of the *Brachinus exequius* of the carabidae family being eaten fried; but this, called แมงกิ้งกิ้ง, is scarcely more than one inch long. Hence only further research can lead to the identification of the edible insect alluded to.

"21.—Early in the morning I made preparations to go to *Tarnah* [Thā Rūa] in the afternoon, and then I went for a short time to *Pullu Jambu* [Yā-mū].....I found another tree resembling the rotan, with a fascicle of fruits, the spadices of which were bright red. The fruits were oval, oblong, smooth, sessile and fleshy inside; they were of a beautiful blood-red colour, and were twice as big as the ordinary sized quills. The fleshy part encloses the kernel with a layer of prickly stiff fibres, which were rather loose at the top part. The kernel consisted of an oblong nut, which was exactly like a nut when cut, and contained some red juice, which dyes the linen red when brought in contact with it.....The tree is well known by the natives here who call it *Gkottschoh* [ โกฎศอ, Kôt So ? ],<sup>1</sup> and use these nuts sometimes instead of the ordinary Betel nuts.....I went round the island and found a kind of large tree, which was frequented by several *Buceros*.....The Siamese call this bird *Nock Nang* [ read Nok Kahāng or Krahāng, นก กระหาง, or กระหาง, the large hornbill, *Buceros rhinoceros*, of which Nok Hāng is the local contracted form of the name ]; it only lives on fruits and seldom flies low. The remarkable thing in this bird is that it makes a peculiar noise with its wings as it flies along. ..." ( pp. 78-79 ).

"26.—The atmosphere on land was rather unsafe for Europeans during the last days, on account of some quarrels between some English captains and the king; I was therefore called back to the ship. Before I left the land I botanized a little..... A Chinese merchant, living at *Tarnah* [Tha Rūa], told me that tin was also being found on the height of the mountains, because the violent rain washes the earth away and so uncovers the tin and sometimes even washes this down as well. The old women collect it, and bring it to the smelter, who renders them  $\frac{4}{5}$  of what they have brought him, because the prevailing custom here is to give the smelter  $\frac{1}{5}$  of whatever he smelts, which is the only payment for his trouble. All the tin in *Pullu Panjang* had formerly been collected in this manner, and was not dug for as they do here, and there was

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1. The presence on the island of the medicinal plant called Kôt So will be found confirmed further on from Siamese sources; but it is somewhat doubtful whether it can be the tree referred to here, as from its designation the plant would appear to be a mere tuber.

enough tin there to furnish many people with an occupation. But Malay ships had often killed and robbed this people, so that in the end they had fled. On the whole Malay coast people are said to collect the tin in this primitive way and not to dig for it as they do here ".....(p. 80).

"[July] 5.—I spent this day in Captain Light's company, and we could dare to penetrate deeper into the wood, because we had many people with us who were armed with guns.... We went right across the island, which was covered with a dense forest, consisting of many very high trees; the ground was strewn over with their fruits and we gathered some of them....." (p. 81).

"12.—...I asked Captain Light to let me have a boat and a few men; we rowed to a part of the island which did not make it necessary for me to climb.....I went a few hundred steps up the mountain and found to my great astonishment two kinds of Areca trees.... There was a whole wood of them here, white ones as well as the red kind....." (p. 83).

"13.—I was seized with a violent bilious fever, combined with cold shivers and general weakness.....[which] threatened to kill me. Therefore I resolved to go with Captain Scott's three-masted ship, which was bound for Malacca, my Captain readily made all arrangements for my passage, as he feared to have a corpse on his ship, while Captain Scott could easily make funeral arrangements at sea; and late in the evening of the 17th I went on board of Captain Scott's ship, called "Prince." We sailed still the very evening." (pp. 84-85).—

Thus ended Dr. Kœnig's fruitful visit to Junkceylon. He got thence safely to Malacca, next to Kedah, visiting many other places *en route*, and ultimately got back to India where he died on June 26, 1785, at Jagrenatporoum, aged 57 years. Although he tells us but little of the social condition of Junkceylon, his occasional remarks on the harbour, the neighbouring islands, and especially the tin mining operations going on there in his time are exceedingly interesting. We gather from these that the island continued to be exposed to the incursions of Malay pirates who had been the cause of the discontinuance of tin works on Pulo Panjang, i. e. Koh Yau-yai. We moreover see that the islanders still enjoyed the privilege of mining

for tin wherever they chose, had to pay  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the cost of smelting, and probably  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the net produce as royalty to the chief of the district who had to forward a certain portion to the provincial authority at P'hang-ngā or Takūa-pā, to be thence sent to the Siānese capital by the route that shall be described in due course. The smelting of the ore was seemingly done by Chinamen who were already numerous in the island and carried on a certain portion of its import and export trade. But tin was also exported on European ships, which fact argues that the monopoly in force at the period when the Siānese capital was still at Ayuddhyā had not been re-established during the reign of P'hyā Tāk, or was maintained but in a slovenly manner. Dr. Koenig does not tell us anything about ambergris, probably because he had not visited the West coast of the island where that substance is likely to have been chiefly collected. *Per contra*, he records the presence in considerable numbers of rhinoceroses, tigers, elephants, and even albino elephants on the island. Most of these wild animals have probably become far more scarce since that time. As to whether slate pencils are still wrought at Koh Map'hrāu I am unable to say. It is a pity our author did not tell us something more of Thā-Rūa which, as we shall see from other accounts, was at the time a town of considerable importance. But on the whole we must be thankful for whatever else he put on record, which has a special interest as being the only sidelight we get on the island since Hamilton's time, and but a few years after the fall of Ayuddhyā (1767) and the translation of the capital of Siām to Bāngkok (1768).

#### EXTRACTS FROM LOCAL RECORDS UP TO 1782.

I shall now make some extracts from a document written by local officials in 1841 in so far as they bear on the period immediately preceding the year 1782, so as to complete our notices on the history of the island up to that date. The rare document in question is reproduced and translated in full in Appendix A; so here I need only touch upon the principal points relating to the period under examination.

C'halāng.—During the last years of the capital Ayuddhyā there were two chiefs in the C'halāng district, born of the same father but of different mothers. One of them bore the name of Chom Rāng, resided at Bān Takhien and was the governor of Thalāng; he wedded

a Malay widow who had fled to the island from Kedah, and had by her 2 sons and 3 daughters, two of the latter of whom achieved afterwards great distinction, as will appear in the sequel, while the elder son became governor of Thalāng later on. The other chief was Chom Thāu,<sup>1</sup> who resided at Bān Don; one of his sons became also some time afterwards governor of Thalāng. Perfect harmony reigned between the two families at Bān Takhien and Bān Don. But this state of tranquility in the island was soon to come to an end.

For some time afterwards Chom C'hai Surindr of the Lip'hon village ( บำหนักพอน ) rebelled with the intent of seizing the power. An order came from the capital to arrest him, and he was caught and executed for high treason. There being then no able man left in the island, an official from the capital, Khāng-seng by name was sent out as Governor. At, the eldest son of Chom Rāng, succeeded him as P'hrayā Thalāng, but shortly afterwards he was shot dead by dacoits, and Thalāng remained without governor.

Thereupon a Malay from Kedah made himself master of the island. But soon the people of Thalāng revolted, erected fortified camps at Mai Khāu, Pāk Sāgū, and Tang-ro ( ? )<sup>2</sup> and drove the Malays out, thus liberating the island. This event seems to have happened either shortly before or shortly after 1780, and was no doubt the cause of the erroneous statement, repeated in all European accounts of Junkceylon from Horsburgh's time to the present day, to the effect that the island was formerly a possession of Kedah and did

1. These titles of *Chom*, จอม, given to the C'halāng chiefs at the period are worthy of notice. *Chom* means 'top', 'summit'; and metaphorically a chief, or chieftain. It is also remarkable that in the document here referred to, the name of the district or island is invariably spelled กตง, Thalāng, and not จตง, C'halāng.

2. Bān Mai Khāu, บ้านไม้ขาว, village lies on the north-western end of the island; Pāk Sākhū, ปากสาธุ (Sago Mouth) lies close to the north-west of Bān Don; and Bān Lip'hon village is immediately to the north-west of old Thā-rūa town, on the road thence to Bān Don. *Tang-ro* is doubtful as a place-name; it may mean "to make a stand."

not become Siānese until 1810 or thereabout!<sup>1</sup> The evidence we have brought forward in the foregoing pages shows how much truth there is in such a slovenly assertion, and how much knowledge about the political history of Kedah in those writers who ignore its having been, since a few decades from its foundation, a dependency of Siām except during brief intervals of rebellion invariably followed by a re-tightening of the grip on it from headquarters.

Meanwhile Mom Sri P'hakdī, son of Chom Nāi Kong, a Ligor man who had come out as governor of Takūa-thùng, had wedded Chan, the eldest daughter of Chom Rāng, the old chief of C'halāng; and had had by her two children. The aforementioned Mom Sri P'hakdī died some time before 1785; for towards the end of that year Chan, the heroine of the island, is, in the Bāngkok Annals, described as being a widow of the late governor, which statement argues that Mom Sri P'hakdī must have governed C'halāng for some interval before that date. And here we must interrupt the history of C'halāng district for the present and pass on to the other one on the southern part of the island.

P'hūket.—P'hūket was formerly an important district, but later it was placed under the jurisdiction of C'halāng. Its governors were at first Lúang P'hūket (Khāng-Khot), and then Nāi Sri-c'hāi overseer who became P'hrah (or P'hrayā) P'hūket. They resided at Thā-Rūa, a little country town of considerable importance then, situated one and a half miles up a small stream of the same name. There was a large Portuguese settlement here, as well as a fine market street, composed of large brick buildings, among which rose the spacious houses belonging to the Europeans that used to reside here while their ships lay at anchor in the harbour. The boundaries between P'hūket and C'halāng stood as follows:—

On the West, Hin C'hāi, P'hlāi Tanôt;

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1. Balfour's "Cyclopaedia of India," 3rd ed., s. v. "Junk Seylon, or Salang Island," says quoting from Horsburgh: "It formerly belonged to the Malay raja of Queda, but it has since been forcibly occupied by the Siamese of Ligor."

This has been copied, almost *verbatim*, by Prof. Keane in his "Geography of the Malay Peninsula," etc.; London 1892, p. 15.

And H. W. Smyth in his "Five Years in Siam," London, 1898; vol. I, p. 316, still tells us no less incorrectly that "about 1810 it finally became Siamese."

On the East, Kol Map'hraū, Au Tap-kē, Lēm Ngā, Lēm Mat-p'hā; while the following islands were included in the jurisdiction of P'hūket, viz: Kol Yāu (Pulo Panjang and Kol Yāu Noi to the northward of it), Kol Alang (the two Alangs), Kol Klūei, Lēm Yāmū (Jam of maps, a quasi peninsula), Kol Rēt and Nākā, Kol Rawah, Kol Pā-yōi, Kol C'ha-ngam, Au P'hārāmā, Kol Yā-nat, Kol Khulā-khlot. The boundary continued thence to Lēm Kho-en, Pāk Ko-yik and Lēm Pāk-P'hrayā from which point it crossed over to Pāk-nam Mon and Pāk P'hrah, where the strait separated it from the territory of the Takūa-thùng district.

Our document next adds some important information about Takūa-thùng, which is worth summarizing here.

Takūa-thùng.—During the last years of the capital Ayuddhyā, Chāu P'hrayā Indravamsā selected a site at Pāk-P'hrah whither to build a residence for himself. He had scarcely cleared the site and commenced the work when he was overtaken by death. P'hyā Tāk had then just become King of Siām (1768); so he sent out several high officials of Chāu P'hrayā and P'hyā rank as commissioners. These established their quarters at Pāk P'hrah; and were, among others C'hāu P'hrayā Lū Rājanikūl, P'hrayā Dharmatrailōk, and P'hrayā P'hip'hit P'hōkhai, who either died or fled as it will be seen further on, at the time of the Burmese invasion of 1786.<sup>1</sup>

The channel of Pāk P'hrah ( กอแคว้น ปากพระ ) formed the line of separation between Takūa-thùng and C'halāng.

The Junkceylon Revenue.—The royalties in kind on mines and other produce, as well as on sundry imports collected in C'halāng were forwarded to Takūa-thùng whence they were sent on to Takūa-pā. From the last named district the tin ore, the bales of [Indian] fabrics and the firearms [from India] were conveyed across the main range by way of the Kháu Sok pass<sup>2</sup> down to Thā P'hanom on the eastern watershed, where they were laden into boats and brought by way of the P'hanom river (Khlong P'hanom) to C'haiyā. Here they were shipped to the capital. Such,

1. These and former commissioners evidently were sent out for the purpose of watching the collection of the revenue—chiefly tin—from Junkceylon and the Takūa-thùng and Takūa-pā districts, and the forwarding of it overland to the capital by the route that is described further on.

2. The name of this mountain is playfully marked *Mt. Rock* (!) on the extant maps.

we are told, had been the custom for a very long time, and until the Burmese invasion of 1786, when the above operations came to a standstill not to be resumed for a good many years, and then, too, by a different, though more practicable, route.

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## 2.—Second Period: 1782-1851.

As already noticed in the first part of this paper, with the advent of the present dynasty on the throne of Siām in 1782, an important administrative change took place, by effect of which Junkceylon and all the other provinces on the Malay Peninsula were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Foreign Department and placed as of yore under the control of the Kalāhôm or Minister for War, under which they were to remain until the recent reorganization of 1893. (See above, p. 18).

The far more enlightened spirit that has ever since distinguished the newly founded dynasty, proved highly beneficial not only to the country, but to the foreigners that had made it their residence. Owing to the severe persecutions of P'hyā Tāk, the Catholic missionaries had had bodily to withdraw from Siām towards the end of 1779. But now that ideas of tolerance of all creeds prevailed, they returned to their posts within the year 1782. Joseph Coudé, however, resided for some time at Junkceylon where he found a number of soi-disants Christians that welcomed him with joy. I suppose these were mostly the Portuguese mestizos and other Eurasians of the Thā-Rūa settlement with, perhaps, a sprinkling of descendants of the natives evangelized during the mission of 1671-73 (see p. 24 above). They had been receiving but some desultory teaching from the chaplains of Portuguese vessels and some Franciscans that had now and then visited the island.

Later on Coudé, upon being appointed Bishop of Rhesi and Apostolic Vicar for Siām resolved, while proceeding to Bangkok in order to receive thereat his consecration, to again visit his cherished Christians of Junkceylon and Takūa-thùng. Accordingly, he took a track across the Malay Peninsula that was to shorten his journey by some eight or ten days (doubtless viā the Kháu Sok pass). But this being a very unhealthy and difficult road, the



Bishop fell seriously ill and died while en route on the 8th January 1785.<sup>1</sup>

#### CAPTAIN FORREST'S VISIT—1784.

Having been sent in 1784, by the Bengal government, to found a settlement at Rhio at the king's invitation, Captain James Forrest upon hearing when touching at Pulo Dingding that the king Rāja Hāji had just fallen at the siege of Malacca which he had attacked—an untoward incident this that upset all his plans—returned and called at Junkceylon. To this circumstance we owe his capital account of that island, which, falling a few years after Dr. Koenig's but under the new régime of the presently reigning dynasty, and immediately before the island had been lain waste by repeated Burmese raids, possesses a special interest from a historical point of view. This interest is further enhanced by the valuable details it supplies not only on local topography, natural resources and trade, but also by the sidelights it throws on administrative affairs and the very life of the people. A miniature picture is thus presented to us of the island at a most eventful stage of its existence; and the precision of the information is such as to enable us to check and even complement to a certain extent several of the imperfect statements occurring in local documentary records. As a cute observer, an explorer and a faithful recorder of his peregrinations, Captain Forrest must be ranked immediately after Captain Alexander Hamilton, his eminent predecessor in the same field; and his varied subsidiary accomplishments that ranged from map-making to translating Pope's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer into Malay for the benefit and edification of the Filipinos, and from suggesting novel ingenious modes of preserving sea provision<sup>2</sup> to fiddling, to composing Malay songs and setting them to the sonatas of Corelli, eminently fitted him for that task. And yet his valuable book<sup>3</sup> is

1. Pallegoix, op. cit.; vol. II, pp. 274-75, 278. *China Review*, vol. XVIII, p. 12.

2. As regards fish-curing (p. 137) he may be said to have preconized pyroligneous acid.

3. "A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago.....also an Account of the Islands Jan Sylan," etc.; London, 1782; large in 4o.

scarcely any more, if ever, consulted. Had those playful writers on Junkceylon in recent bulky tomes of would-be sensational twaddle, and in encyclopaedias of general information or otherwise, taken the trouble of opening its pages, they would have spared a goodly few of the glaring blunders they have unblushingly perpetrated. And after having read Captain Forrest's account of Junkceylon one feels regret that this careful observer had not an opportunity of visiting some of the districts on the opposite mainland, as in such a case we should be indebted to him for valuable information on those so little known territories also. His account of the island occupies eight pages (29-36) in the publication just referred to; and as this has now become somewhat scarce and is conspicuously absent in libraries private or otherwise out here, we cannot help giving it well nigh in full, omitting only such passages as are irrelevant for our purpose, or obvious to residents from their bearing on too well known matters not peculiar to the island alone, but to practically the whole of Siām. Henceforth, then, we shall leave Captain Forrest to speak out for himself, adding within brackets or in foot-notes our identifications of proper names, or comments, as the case may be.

1. Position of the Island, etc.—“The *Island Jan Sylan* (called *Junk Ceylon* in our maps) is situated on the east side of the *Bay of Bengal*, and is divided from the continent by a narrow isthmus of sand about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, which isthmus is covered only at high water (the tide rising on the springs about 10 feet), and shuts up on the north part, an excellent harbour, called *Popra* \* [Pāk P'hrah], ปากพระ<sup>1</sup> .....

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1. This harbour our author marks in his “Chart from Jan Sylan to Queda” (facing p. 36 in *op. cit.*) on the mainland opposite the northern end of Junkceylon, within a promontory which is evidently that of Pāk P'hrah (Lēm Pāk P'hrah). The anchorage was frequented by European shipping since the writer tells us (p. 31) that Captain Scott's vessel lay then at anchor in it. It is ignored in the present day directories and sailing directions; but an index to its importance is to be found in the fact that as we have seen above (p. 44) the Siāmesse commissioners in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had made Pāk Phrah their residence.

As regards the narrow isthmus of sand, covered at high water, connecting the island with the main across Pāk P'hrah Strait, we find it marked in Captain Forrest's chart at the western entrance to the Strait

2. **Name.**—"The name *Jan Sylan* is a corruption from *Oojong Sylan* (point or promontory of Sylan), the south point projecting a little way into the sea, and probably the name was given to it before it became an island at high water, and before it was disjoined from the continent, as it is at present: the word *oojong* being a Malay word signifying point, and the inhabitants in general speaking Malay, from their intercourse with that people, had it been considered as an island, the word *pulo*, signifying island in the same tongue, a word of easy pronunciation, if once affixed to it, would most probably never have left it.<sup>1</sup>

3. **Neighbouring Islands.**—There are several small islands adjacent to it, from one to six miles in circumference; and one beautiful island lies about sixteen miles east of it, called *Pulo Panjang* (*Long Island*): it is about 23 miles long, and 8 broad, of moderate height, gently sloping from the middle to the sea on each side. *Pulo Panjang* is divided from the *main* by a strait called *Callat Leheere* (Throat Strait),<sup>2</sup> with 2 fathoms water in the shallowest part.<sup>3</sup>

4. **Orography and Hydrography.**—"Jan Sylan has no high hill upon it, but several of moderate height; and, as may be expected from its size, no considerable river; but several creeks that run to

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just referred to. This bar exists to this day, but the depth on it at low water is said in the "Bengal Pilot" (3rd ed., 1901, p. 431) to vary "from one to 3 fathoms at low water." Nevertheless Mr. Kynnersley in his account of the island in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R. Asiatic Society* for July 1901 states (p. 64) that it is "fordable by elephants at low tide." This may be true at certain seasons of the year; but if Captain Forrest's remark that the bar was covered only at high water be correct, it must be argued that it has deepened since his time, and this in spite of the well ascertained fact that land keeps on rising continually in those parts.

1. We have already commented upon this passage and other evidence connected with the point it discusses, on pp. 2-7 and 9, 20, 23-24 above.

2. A mis-spelling (or misprint) for *Selat Leher* = 'Neck [or 'Throat] Strait.'

3. This channel, leading between the islets *Koh Kluei* and *Koh Khamam*, northward of the minor *Panjang* (*Koh Yau Noi*) is used to this day, it being the ordinary passage to *P'hang-ngü*; but no name is marked for it in our charts or naval directories.

the sea, generally through flat marshes of mangrove trees, from pleasant brooks in the interior parts; they keeping purposely the skirts of the island in a state of nature, I suppose, to prevent invasion; and their vessels consist only of few prows [*prau*, *prahu*] about the size of Indiamen's long-boats, and small canoes, that find their way up these creeks, to the well-cultivated plains abounding with rice fields in the middle of the island.

5. **Harbours**—“ Besides the harbour of *Popra* [Pāk P'hrah] above-mentioned, there is another capacious harbour on the south-west part of the island, as the natives informed me<sup>1</sup>; but I never was in it. The place where ships generally anchor is in a good road, well sheltered behind a small island now joined to the main island at low water, lying in 8° 10' N. lat.<sup>2</sup>

6. **Tha Rua**—On the *main* opposite to this island is a creek that leads to the village of *Terowa* [Thā Rūa], consisting of about 80 houses, on a plain, through which runs a pleasant brook, with many windings, over a gravelly bottom.

“After having with much difficulty got up this narrow creek, where oars cannot be used, on the upper part, paddles only, and perhaps against a strong current, one is much pleased to reach the pleasant rivulet above-mentioned; and here resides *Pee-peemont* [P'hyā P'himon, พระยาพิณต], the governor, or viceroy, from the court of *Siam*.<sup>3</sup> This governor, when I was there in 1784, had three

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1. Evidently Patong Bay; see p. 31 above.

2. This small island cannot seemingly be Lēm Yā-mū at the northern end of the harbour (see p. 37 above); but is presumably the tiny islet a little northward of the entrance to Thā Rūa river. It is now almost within a stone-throw of the shore, from which it becomes separated only at high water. Evidently, the land has progressed seawards a good deal since Captain Forrest's time, if our deductions are correct—and it seems that it cannot be otherwise.

3. Our author further refers to this official in the Introduction to his book, p. III, as follows: “Pee-peemont governor of Jan Sylan in 1784...for the King of Siam, and formerly governor of Kraw, when the country about Kraw was well inhabited, and the road across the isthmus much frequented, before the wars which, thirty years ago, between the Peguers and Birmahs or Burmahs, had greatly depopulated this quarter.” This information is correct and agrees with that supplied us by local records. P'hyā P'himon or Eimol (Vimala) was governor of Krah, and had lately resided at C'hump'hon on the east coast of the Peninsula until he was appointed to Junkceylon. The latter event happened presumably in 1782, immediately after the advent of the

assistants, or perhaps rather colleagues, as they partook of his power: their names were *Pee-Tukerat* [P'hyā Dukkharās, พระยา ทุกขราช], *Pee-Siring* [P'hyā Surindr-rājā, พระยา สุรินทร ราช],<sup>1</sup> and *Pee-Lancrac* [P'hyā Laṅkāraḥ พระยา ดังการักษ์ ?].<sup>2</sup> Each of these officers had about sixty followers, a kind of retainers, who in a great measure live on the community; for, receiving little pay, they oppress the inhabitants: their arms are a musquet and bayonet, sword and dagger. I have often seen them attending their masters at *Pee-peemont's* house, where they all met frequently upon business.

7. Towns and villages—"The names of the towns or villages upon the island, are:

*Terowa* [Thā-Rūa],

*Bankian* [Bān Takhien, บ้าน ตะเคียน see above, pp. 41, 42],

*Bandan* [Bān Don, บ้าน ดอน, see above, p. 42],

*Popra* [Pāk P'hrāh.] where is the harbour already mentioned,

*Nanay* [Nā Nai, บ้าน นาไ, S. E. from Thā Rūa town; another village of the same name lies a short distance northwards from Bān Don and Bān Takhien],

*Bandpon* [Bān Li-p'hon, N. W. from same; see above, p. 42],

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presently reigning dynasty when, as may be expected, a good deal of transference in official posts took place. Apparently, P'hyā P'himon was first sent to Junkceylon as government commissioner or acting governor. We shall hear a good deal more about him in the sequel.

1. This was a very able official born in the west provinces, very likely at P'hang-ngā or Takūa-thùng. He became afterwards Chāu P'hyā, and devoted himself to the improvement of means of communication across the Malay Peninsula, as will be seen further on.

2. I can find no record about both P'hyā Thukkharāt (Dukkharās) and this *Pee-Lancrac*, which last title, by the way, is not easy of identification. It may be Laṅkāraḥ, Alaṅkārarākḥ, Aṅgarākḥ, or even Anurākḥ.

*Tyang* [Thā-Yāng, ท้ายยาง, a little southwards from Bān Don ?],

*Tirtulay* [C'hāi Thalē. บ้านทรายทะเล, S. of Bān Don, towards the West coast ?],

*Bankonian* [Bān Khók-yāng. บ้านโคกยาง, N. E. from Thā-Rīta, East coast ?],

*Banktan* [Bāng Kathau. บ้างกะทาว, West coast on Bāng Thau Bay ?].

*Bandrun* [Bān Karon. บ้านกระวน, West coast, on Karon Bay ?; or, mayhap. Bāng-Khron, บ้านบางครอง, on the homonymous river, East coast ],

*Sagoo* [Bān Sākhū, บ้านสาธุ, on the West coast, N. W. from Thā-Rīta],

*Bringing* [Bān Ra-ngong. บ้านระแงง, a little westwards from the present P'hūket ?] (this last produces tin); also

*Kakoing* [ evidently the same place as Dr. Koenig's puzzling *Kockren* : see above, p. 34],<sup>1</sup>

*Patrit* [P'hak-c'het, บ้านผักเห็ด N. E. from Thā-Rīta, East coast ?].

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1. Even with the two forms *Kakoing* and *Kockren* (which last is doubtless the most correct of the *variae lectiones* occurring in Dr. Koenig's account) now lying before us, it is yet impossible to say which is the mining place intended. A village Thā-Khrēng บ้านท่าแครง, exists at a short distance S. W. from the present P'hūket and about half-way to actual tin-works, but the initial syllable of its name does by no means answer the requirements, which are, as already observed, a word something like Koh or Khók. There is no other course left for the present but giving up its identity.

*Tallong* [ not seemingly C'halong on the homonymous bay but, almost certainly, *Thalāng* ],<sup>1</sup> and

*Patong* [Patong, ပါတုၤ ဝဲၤတုၤ see above, p. 31] (these four last also produce tin).

The inhabitants of the whole island may be in number about 12,000 souls.<sup>2</sup>

8. *Excursion inland*.—"About eight miles inland, from *Terowa*, in a N. W. direction nearly, *Pee-peemont* has a country house, built, as all their houses are, of timber, and covered with palm leaves, an universal covering in Malay countries.<sup>3</sup>

1. Mr. Kynnersley states in his "Notes of Visits to Puket," etc. in the *Journal Str. Br. R. A. S.* for January 1905 (No. 42, p. 12) that *Phalung*—evidently a misprint for *Thalāng* and the same place as Capt. Forrest's *Tallong*—"was the great mining place before Tongkah [Thùṅ-khā, တုံကျ] mines were worked at the end of the promontory or island which we call Junk-Ceylon." He, however, displays a but shallowish knowledge of Malay when, after having declared his unbelief in the "*Ujung Salang* derivation" adds that "there is no doubt that Junk-Ceylon is a corruption of *Yong* (Tanjong) *Phalung* [Thalāng] or *Salang* [Salāng]." For it is well-known that *Tanjong* is a mere contraction of *Tanah Ujong*, which carries one back to the very derivation he disbelieves. It will be evident from the last quoted passage, however, that *Thalāng* or *Salāng* (C'halāng) is exactly what he means by his *Phalung*. Hence, there can be no doubt as to the identity of both with Capt. Forrest's *Tallong*.

2. This I think an underestimate, which is more likely than not, as our author had no opportunity of visiting more than a few inhabited places on the island. In 1824 Captain Low, as we shall see, reckoned the population at 6000 souls; but this was shortly after no less than four Burmese raids had taken place. A seemingly accurate census taken in 1897 yielded the following results: Villages 201, under the immediate authority of 20 *Kamnans*. Population:

Siamese	{ Males, 8948 Females, 6240 }	15188
Chinese,	mostly mining coolies,	11350

Total ... 26538

Allowing for quite possible shortcomings, we must conclude that the total population of the island prior to the Burmese invasions, must have been no less than 15000 to 20000 souls.

3. This country residence must have been in the *Thalāng* district proper, at or about *Bān Don*, which lies in the direction indicated at five miles, as the crow flies, from *Thā Rūa*; and therefore at seven to eight miles' distance following the windings of the track. The description given of the route also corresponds.

"I travelled thither with Capt. James Scot,<sup>1</sup> who resided then at *Terowa*, on some commercial business, his vessel<sup>2</sup> lying in *Popra* harbour, a very sensible and intelligent gentleman, to whom I was much obliged for his civilities and services on many occasions. We travelled on an elephant, through a path worn like a gutter, in some few places, where it was over a flat rock, the path being worn by the elephant's feet, and so narrow as not to be above an inch or two wider than his hoofs: I wondered how the huge animal got along. This bad road was for a very little way through the skirt of a wood; and about two miles from *Terowa* we got into the open country again, full of rice fields and well watered, yet not swampy. In about three hours we reached the governor's house, which is larger and more commodious than the one at *Terowa*, and seven miles distant from it. In his garden we found limes, oranges and pummel noses. *Chyysong*, the son of a Chinese with whom I lived, told me the island produced most tropical roots and fruits; and I am persuaded many of our vegetables might be raised, the climate is so cool; very like what it is at *Pulo Pinang*.

"The governor gave us a very good dinner, but did not eat with us. He did not speak Malay, but had a linguist who spoke Portuguese. Our drink was the water of young coco-nuts and sherbet. After dinner we were entertained with three musicians, who played on such like string instruments as the Chinese play on at Canton. Having drank tea we took leave.

9. **Fauna and Climate.**—"They have a good many elephants, which they get from Mergui; none wild, no horses; they have bullocks and buffalos for labour; wild hogs and deer, a few tame goats, no sheep, domestic dogs and cats. They have the common poultry, but not in abundance. The climate is very agreeable; no violent heats; the rains come on gently in July, and continue

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1. Here we meet with an old acquaintance, first introduced to us by Dr. Koenig five years before this (1779; see pp. 35, 40 above). Captain Scott resided at *Thā-Rūa* for a good many years. It was he who assisted his colleague Capt. Francis Light in persuading the *rāja* of *Kedah* to conclude in 1785 the famous treaty by which *Penang* island was ceded to the British.

2. A three-masted ship called "*Prince*," as Dr. Koenig informed us (see p. 40 above).



until November, with frequent intermissions: fine weather then succeeds, with very cool north-east winds at night, which must be favourable to the cultivation of vegetables, as it is at Calcutta.

10. **Opium trade; Imports and Exports.**—"The vend for opium on this island was thirty or forty years ago very great, as this was then a free port. The opium came from *Bengal* generally in English country ships, and was bought up by Malay and Buggess [Būgis] prowes, who, after having sold a mixt cargo by retail, to the natives for tin (in doing which they staid many months, and hauled up their prowes to repair), they then exchanged their tin with the Bengal vessels for opium, which they carried chiefly to *Celebes* and other Malay Islands. The mixed cargo they brought to sell for tin was generally a chequered cloth called *Buggess cambays*, made on the *Island Celebes*, resembling *lungys* [lungī, practically the Siānese P'hā-nūng, မုံ နွံ ] of *Bengal*, but closer wove; Java painted cloths and painted handkerchiefs, generally made from Indostan long cloth; Java gongs, brass pots, and other utensils of brass made on that island; China and Java tobacco; various porcelain; blue and white and unbleached cloth called *kangan*, and white and blue called *compow*, brought from China by the junks that resort to *Siam*, *Macasser*, *Sooloo*, *Batavia*, *Rhio*, and other places.

"Things are now much altered: the use of opium is forbid to the natives, the importation is prohibited, and a heavy duty is laid on the exportation of tin by orders from *Siam*; in consequence, the trade of the place has dwindled much; Indostan piece-goods, and some European articles, such as iron, steel, lead, cutlery, and broad-cloth, being almost the only imports. Neither do many Buggess prowes come, as no opium is to be got; but Malay prowes come from *Queda*, and a few from the *Strait of Malacca* and *Pulo Pinang*, that bring the China articles already enumerated. About the year 1782, in return for many China articles they got from *Siam* partly overland, they returned tin, the same way; but the project was given up in 1784, it not answering the expense to send tin across the isthmus.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Further particulars about the overland route, etc. will be found—gathered from local sources—in the sequel. See also above, p. 44.

11. **Tin Mining.**—"The tin miner lies under greater oppression of late years than formerly: he must now carry all his ore to a Chinese smelter, who farms this privilege from government. The smelting costs 12 *per cent.*<sup>1</sup>; besides, the miner for a certain weight in slabs, must deliver a certain weight of tin ore, which often produces more: thus he pays a double duty before he gets the tin into his hands; the last duty is the heaviest and most impolitic. Government takes 25 *per cent.* before the tin can be exported: this gives so much dissatisfaction, that they wish much to throw off their dependance on *Siam*; and it was said that, if *Pee-pimont* could get support, he would very readily do it.<sup>2</sup> How far his having three associates in government might prevent such an attempt, I cannot say: possibly their appointment is with that very intention, by the despots of *Siam*; who, armed with an insignificant monarch's authority, often govern themselves, but always in his name.

"I have been told the export of tin from the island is about 500 tons yearly; formerly it was much more.<sup>3</sup> *Pulo Pinang*, our new settlement, gets a great deal of it; *Queda* did formerly.

12. **The Tha-rua pagoda.**—"Here, at *Terowa*, there is a *pagoda*, built of timber, and covered with palm leaves; it is served by about twenty priests, called *tellopys* [*Tala-Kh'pôi*,<sup>4</sup>] who live in small

1. Dr. Koenig said  $\frac{1}{2}$  (see p. 39 above), corresponding to 20 p  $\%$ , a still higher rate. Probably it had been reduced since his time when, however, the monopoly of smelting appears to already have been farmed out to Chinamen.

2. We shall see that he became more loyal to his sovereign in after years.

3. This is a statement of far-reaching importance, showing how considerable was the output of the Junkceylon mines prior to the end of the seventeenth century when we have seen Hamilton tell us it had already declined (*vide supra*, p. 31). The production dwindled still further after the Burmese attacks of the last part of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth; but after 1850 or thereabout it kept continually increasing. By 1870 it had reached 3600 tons, culminated to fully 5000 a decade later, and then it again entered upon a phase of decline owing to the exorbitant royalties and heavy additional charges levied (amounting in the aggregate to about 40  $\%$ ); so that it scarcely exceeds 2500 tons at the present day.

4. I believe that the various derivations hitherto suggested for the term *Talapoy*, *Talapoin*, etc. (which are collected in "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., pp. 890-91, s. v. *Talapoin*), fall all fairly wide of the mark. The word is evidently the *Moñ Tala-kh'pôi*, which sounds practically as *Tala-pôi* when pronounced quickly, meaning "My Lord." *Tala*=Master, Lord; *Kh'pôi* or *pôi*="Our," "my," is more particularly applied to

apartments adjoining to the *pagoda*, which might be about fifty feet long and thirty broad. They, with uncovered shaved heads, wear a yellow garment, and carry a white wand in their hands about five feet long.....my vessel lay in *Terowa Road*.....

13. Currency and manner of trading—"Certain pieces of tin, shaped like the under half of a cone or sugar loaf cut by a plane parallel to its base, called *poot*,<sup>1</sup> are used on the island as money ;

novices or deacons, also called *Mnih Kh'pôï*; whence Mendez Pinto's hitherto unexplained *Talagrepo* (=Tala-Kh'pôï), *Grepo* (=Kh'pôï), and *Neepôï* (=Mnih-pôï). The *Talaput* or *Talipot*, palm-leaf fan, has nothing whatever to do with all this as my predecessors have fancied.

1. Probably <sup>A</sup>ṽṽ, *Pük*, a lump, which is the name still applied to the slabs or cakes of tin obtained after smelting. It may, however, be meant for the Chinese *Pwat*=a lump.

Such ingots were formerly in use as currency all over the Siamese tin mining zone on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Captain Tremenhœre, in his report of 1841, thus speaks of them:—"The pieces or ingots of tin in the shape of the frustum of a cone, which are manufactured at the Rehgnon [Ranong] mines, on the *Pak Chum* [Pāk Chan] river to the southward, and exchanged there for goods at 4 annas each, weigh 1 lb. 2 oz. 383 grains; and their value at Mergui, where the average price of tin is 85 rupees per 100 viss of 365 lbs., 4 annas 4 pie [pice]" "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. I, p. 253.

No less curious than such cone-frustum-shaped tin ingots of Junkceylon and neighbouring districts, are the *Tampangs* of the same metal formerly used as currency in Pahang, and mentioned by the Malay traveller Abdullah in the account of his journey from Singapore to Kelantan in 1838 (Dulaurier's transl. "Voyage d'Abd-Allah," Paris 1850, pp. 22-23). Far from being, however, *ingots* as Millies conjectured ("Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes" etc.; La Haye, 1871; p. 60, f. n. 1), they are hollow, and in the form of a pyramid frustum. This I can positively vouch for, as a number of them, in their various sizes, exist in my own private numismatic collection.

Millies, op. cit., p. 139, quotes from both the "Uytrekening van de goude en silveremunts waardye van Indiën" (Middelburg, 1691, p. 20) and Valentijn (vol. IV, 1, p. 357) the following list of monetary values used in Junkceylon towards the end of the seventeenth century:—1 *Tahil*=60 sols; 1 *Mas*=3½ sols; 1 *Bitsthin* (*Bitsjin* in Valentijn)=4½ [Mas?]=17 sols, etc. He suggests that *Bitsthin* probably stands for *Bits-thin*, *Bits-tin*, i. e. "bits of tin," which, if correct, would argue them to correspond to Forrest's *poot*, or cone-frustum-shaped ingots.

If we apply Sir Isaac Newton's estimate of the value of the *écu* (=60 sols) in 1717 ("Assays, etc., of Coins at London Mint, before 1717") at 4s. 6d. we would obtain for the *Bitsthin* (17 sols) a worth of 1s. 3½d. which well agrees with the price of 3lbs. weight of tin in Captain Forrest's time.

weighing about three pounds, with their halves and quarters of similar shape: if attempted to be exported without paying duty, they are seizable. This encourages smuggling. The value of tin is from 12 to 13 Spanish dollars [=54s. to 58s. 6d.] the *pecul* of 133 lbs. put on board clear of duty.

"Whilst I was here, a Bengal ship, Captain Lloyd, came in with piece goods: the captain sold them to *Pee-Peemont*; no doubt partly on account of the king of *Siam* or his ministers. All Malay princes are merchants; which selfish policy starves their subjects. It however gives dispatch to the country ships, and they pay no duty. As soon as the goods are landed, the king's merchant sells them perhaps for an advance of 25 *per cent*.

"All sorts of Indian coins pass here; but they are fondest of Spanish dollars. They have not in use the *petis* [Pitis or pice, very small copper or pewter coins], or cash, the least valuable of coins, used at *Atcheen*, *Sooloo*, *Carang Assem* on *Bally*, and many other Malay places.....

14—The Islanders—"The people of *Jan Sylan*, though they generally understand the Malay tongue, from their intercourse with that people (greater formerly than now), speak the Siamese language, and write as we do from left to right. They write remarkably straight, though without lines.

"They resemble in feature the Malays, with a good deal of the Chinese look; are well made, rather slender. They are allowed to marry as many women as they can maintain; but the first wife rules the household, as in *China*: and, as in *China* and *Pegu*, no woman can leave the country. *Chysong* had but one wife....."

Such was, then, the state of affairs on the island in 1784, just one year before the series of Burmese raids began to lay it waste and to complete its misery. It will have been seen that its condition during the first 8½ decades of the eighteenth century was far from flourishing although not decidedly bad; and could have been immensely better but for the mismanagement of unscrupulous officials. From Hamilton to Forrest we hear the same refrain repeated about exorbitant exactions which deterred the inhabitants from developing the natural resources of the island. The period of

the last half dozen reigns under the old capital Ayuddhyā had been one of misrule and weakness that much slakened the hold over the outlying provinces of the kingdom and consequently brought about discontent and disaffection which largely contributed to the crashing fall of the whole worm-eaten structure. Disintegration waxed complete after that disaster, and the whole kingdom became a prey to political factions and civil wars. P'hyā Tāk, who had bravely started to unify it again and proved fully capable of keeping it well in hand, had barely accomplished the roughhewing part of the task when he turned insane, came within an inch of undoing all he had done and would have set the edifice once more a-crumbling on his own shoulders, had he not been removed in the nick of time.

Under such circumstances it would have been rash to expect things to prosper in Junkceylon any more than elsewhere. But with a sound mind and firm hand once more at the helm in the novel Siāmes capital, order had been restored, the long lost grip over the outlying limbs of the kingdom was re-tightened, and with the feeling of security that again had begun to prevail, despite the continuous wars that raged with an inveterate and unrelenting enemy, things bid fair to get into satisfactory shape. An undoubtedly wise effort had been immediately made in favour of Junkceylon by the appointment of P'hyā Bimol, an experienced Krah governor, P'hyā Surindr a local highly capable official as after events proved, and two others about whose abilities we find no record but who, judging from the criterion that had guided selection of their two major colleagues, cannot have been far below the latter's level. It can be hardly doubted that these four men set about to lick things into shape in Junkceylon ; and if, owing to more weighty matters involving the security of the State that distracted its rulers' attention elsewhere, the four Junkceylon proconsuls could not perhaps secure a sufficient meed of support to their endeavours from headquarters, and eventually despaired of success, going even so far—as Captain Forrest hints—as to entertain thoughts of secession, this only proves how they were in sincere earnest as to the development of the island. As time rolled on, they doubtless became inspired with more confidence in the stability of the dynasty that had just set up to guide the destinies of Siām ; but,

alas! the unexpected change in the plan of campaign on the part of the Burmese that was to make the West coast of the Malay Peninsula one of their subsidiary objectives of attack, suddenly nipped all those rosy prospects in the bud, and Junkceylon had to wait a good bit yet before seeing the dawn of better days.

1ST BURMESE ATTACK ON C'HALANG (DEC. 1785-JAN. 1786.)

LADY CHAN, THE JUNKCEYLON JEANNE D'ARC.

The Burmo-Siamese wars that had raged almost without intermission since the middle of the eighteenth century, had so far had for theatre Central and Northern Siām. But in 1785 the Burmese, in consequence of continuous reverses suffered there recently, changed their plan of campaign, resolving to simultaneously invade Siām on the North, West, and South where they hoped to wrest from it the Malay Peninsula. With this end in view they fitted out a war flotilla which was to conquer the Siamese provinces on the West coast of the latter. The account of the doings of this flotilla that is here subjoined is culled almost in its entirety from the Bāngkok Annals of the 1st reign.<sup>1</sup>

The Burmese flotilla, under the command of Yi-wun, sailed from Mergui early in December 1785, and attacked Takūa-pā and Takūa-thùng which, owing to their unpreparedness, it easily took. The Siamese commissioners residing at Pāk-P'hrah attempted to make a stand but were defeated. P'hrayā Dhammatrailok fell in the fight, while P'hrayā P'hip'hit-p'hôkhai fled viā P'hāng-ngā and crossed the main range by the pass which has since been named after him (Dān P'hrah P'hip'hit, ด่านพระพิพิต, the Mt. Prapipit of our maps).

After these doings the Burmese flotilla made for Junkceylon, where a force was landed to invest the capital C'halāng. Several stockades were erected round the city for this purpose. The governor (P'hrayā Thalāng) had but recently died and no successor

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1. By Chāu P'hrayā Dibākawongse (Khām), who was Foreign Minister until 1870 when he died. The first portion of these Annals has been published in continuation of the Annals of Ayuddhyā and of the reign of P'hyā Tāk (vol. II, pp. 650-739). It stops short at the year 1792. The account of the Burmese attack on Junkceylon is therein to be found on pp. 695 and 697.

to him had as yet been appointed. Nevertheless Chan (จันทน์ = 'Date-plum'),<sup>1</sup> the widow of the late governor (if so, this official must have been Mom Sri Phakdi, see p. 43 above), assisted by Muk (มุก = 'Pearl') a younger sister of hers, who was still unmarried, consulted with the local officials about organizing the defence. "They assembled men and built two large stockades wherewith to protect the town. The dowager governess and her maiden sister displayed great bravery, and fearlessly faced the enemy. They urged the officials and the people, both males and females, to fire the ordnance and muskets, and led them day after day in sorties out of the stockades to fight the Burmese. So the latter were unable to reduce the town and after a month's vain attempts, provisions failing them, they had to withdraw" (January 1786). Thus was Chalang saved through the heroism of the two sisters.<sup>2</sup>

1. Her name is spelled จันทร, *Chandr* (= 'Moon') in the local relation of 1841; but no such name would be given to a woman, as the Moon in Indū (and therefore in Siamese) cosmo-mythology, is a masculine deity, like the *Deus Lunus* among the Romans. If we find the term in such names as e. g. Chandra-devi ('Moon Goddess,' 'Moon Queen'), it then applies to the best half of the Moon-god and not to the deity itself. There cannot, accordingly, be any doubt that the correct spelling is, in the case in point, จัน or จันทน์, with relation to the fruit of *Diospyros decandra* or Date-plum, ลูก จันทน์. This being yellow in colour, the name is usually conferred upon children of a fallow complexion.

2. Sir Arthur Phayre in his "History of Burma" (London, 1883, p. 215) which is as a rule one year wrong in the dates it gives, briefly and somewhat incorrectly alludes to this Burmese attack on Junkceylon (which he misplaces early in A. D. 1785) as follows:—"A preliminary expedition was sent by sea, which took possession of Junk Seylon, but after a few weeks the force was driven out by the Siamese, and obliged to return to Mergui. The advantage to be derived from this isolated attack is not apparent. Success could have had little effect on the main object, which was to occupy the capital. Junk Seylon could not be made the base for operations against Bangkok, and the only benefit to be derived from the occupation of that island by the Burmese, would be to intercept the supply of firearms coming from Indian ports, of which traffic however there is no evidence. The expedition was a very expensive one, and caused a great loss in men."—Now, this is nearly all wrong. For, the attack was not an isolated one since the North and West of Siam had been simultaneously invaded, while a force had been

Intelligence of the Burmese advance on Junkceylon had reached Bāngkok towards the end of December 1785; but the Siāme-ese armies being then (January and February 1786) engaged in repelling the enemy in the north, and on the Karburī frontier in the west, no relief could be sent. As soon as victory had crowned Siāme-ese operations in those quarters, the Second King was despatched (in March 1786) to clear the Burmese out of the Malay Peninsula, which he successfully did, proceeding as far south as Ligor and Singora, whence he recalled Patāni and other rebellious Malay States back to allegiance.

On hearing this welcome news, the officials at C'halāng sent a report of the local occurrences to the Second King at Singora and one to headquarters at Bāngkok. Order having been restored in the Malay Peninsula the Second King returned to the capital, where-upon the Supreme King directed a letter to be despatched to C'halāng appointing Governor one of the local officials who had distinguished himself (?)<sup>1</sup> and conferring upon the widow of the late Governor that had so successfully organized the defence, the rank of Lady Deva-krasattri (ท้าวเทพกระษัตรี), and on her maiden sister, that of Lady Sṛi-Sundara (ท้าวศรีสุนทร). To these two ladies the King sent the insignia appropriate to their ranks and merits in resisting the enemy.<sup>2</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT LIFE OF THE TWO C'HALANG HEROINES.

P'hrayā P'himol (Bimol), late governor of Krah residing first at C'hump'hon and subsequently, since 1782 or thereabout,

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despatched across the Krah Isthmus which took C'hump'hon, Ligor, and even threatened Singora. As to the importation not only of fire arms, but also of bales of cotton goods, from Indian ports by way of Junkceylon, we have ample evidence in the report of 1841 (see Appendix A, No. I, and p. 44 above). Further, the Burmese did not take possession of the island, but simply attacked its northern capital C'halāng.

1. This can only be P'hrayā P'himol who, so far, had probably been only acting governor. As we are going to see, he wedded the heroine Chan soon after the defeat of the Burmese.

2. The titles here alluded to are on a par with those of the chief ladies in the royal household. This has probably been the only instance in Siāme-ese history of their being conferred upon ladies not attached to the royal palace.



*interim* or joint commissioner in the island, probably was the new governor appointed to C'halāng. At all events we know from Captain Forrest's account already quoted above (p. 49) as well as from the Siāmesé records that this official had come to the island and resided thither for several years, finally wedding Lady Deva-Krasattrī (Chan). From her he had five children, the eldest of whom, a daughter, Thong (แม่ทอง) by name, he brought afterwards to Bāngkok presenting her at Court. There she became in due course the mother of Princess Ubol (พระองค์เจ้าอุบล). Now, this Princess was the 32nd child of King P'hrah Buddha Yot-fā, and must have been born shortly after 1800, and at any rate not later than 1809. This fact supplies a check to our chronology, and argues that her mother Thong must have come to light in this world about 1786; and hence that the re-marriage of Lady Deva-krasattrī with P'hrayā P'himol took place early in 1786, and therefore soon after the siege of C'halāng.

Some time after this Thien, the eldest son of Lady Deva-Krasattrī from her first husband, brought an action against his step-father P'hrayā P'himol, in consequence of which the latter was removed to P'hatthalung. The son of Chom Thāu of Bān Don was then appointed governor, and is recorded in local documents under the title of P'hrayā Thalāng of the Golden Tray (P'hrayā Thalāng Chiet-thong).<sup>1</sup> Having incurred the royal displeasure for some escapade committed later, this official was arrested and brought to Bāngkok where he died under confinement. Thien, the son of Lady Deva-Krasattrī, was then appointed to succeed him, and is nicknamed the Asthmatic Governor (P'hrayā Thalāng Hūt, พระยาธนาหืด). He was given Nāi Rūang, the younger brother of the deposed governor, as *Palat* or vice-governor; and Nāi C'hū as Yokkrabatr or registrar. These three officials all bore then P'hrayā rank.

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1. Chiet, ฉีก, is the name of a tray chiefly intended to contain wild tea-leaves and other stuff for chewing, formerly conferred by the King as an insignia of rank on high officials. It since fell into disuse, and is now-a-days replaced by the ถาดทอง, P'hān-thong, another form of tray.

As to Lady Sñi-Sundara (Muk) the younger sister of the heroine, the records are silent after this date; hence it is not unlikely that she remained a maid and perhaps passed off the scene of this world not long later.

Without resorting to the history of the Western world which records examples of heroic women almost in every country and age from Boadicea to the Maid of Saragoza, we can find in the annals of Siām itself numerous instances of patriotic amazons who have sacrificed their life and blood for the defence of their own country.<sup>1</sup> But the deeds of the C'halāng sisters find a more fitting though—it should be averred—somewhat superior parallel, in those of the two sisters Trūng who, in A. D. 43, died drowned in the Red River while fighting for the independence of Annam against the Chinese invading army under the famed general Ma-yüan. The memory of these heroines has been immortalized, besides in Annamese history, in a shrine erected in their honour where to this day the somewhat degenerate descendants of their people repair to worship with scented tapers and wreaths.

But no monument has ever been raised to the glorious Boadiceas and Jeannes d'Arc of Siām recording their patriotic gallantry to the present and future generations. In so far as Junkceylon is concerned, it is to be hoped that some fitting memorial, whether a stela, spire, or little shrine will, in a not too distant future, be erected by public subscription on the island as a memento of what

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1. Among such may be mentioned: 1. Queen Suriyōthai who, donning male armour during the Peguan siege of Ayuddhyā in 1563-64 (rectified date), followed the King in a sortie towards the P'hū-kháu Thong fields, and fell killed on her elephant; 2. Lady Mô (ท่านผู้หญิงโม), wife of the *Palat* (vice-governor) of Khôrāj; who, being taken prisoner with the other inhabitants in 1826 when the city was stormed by king Anu of Wieng Chan, mutinied on the way thereto, and at the head of a body of 460 women joined the men in attacking the Wieng Chan troops, and defeated them, thus returning with her rescued companions to Khôrāj; 3. The two C'halāng sisters and numbers of their fellow-citizens of the fair sex who assisted them in defending that town.

It will thus be seen that woman in Siām has a record in heroism not second to that of any other country.

was done for its freedom by the two C'halāng sisters, at which the younger folk may inspire themselves to their patriotism and the aged may depose the pious tribute of a prayer or a flower.

# THE OVERLAND ROUTE FOR TIN AND INDIAN IMPORTED GOODS, PRIOR TO 1785.

The rare Siamese documents reproduced in appendix A, Nos. I, III, and IV, put us in possession of information unobtainable elsewhere about the overland route by which the royalty in kind on tin produced at Junkceylon and the neighbouring districts on the mainland, as well as a number of articles imported thereto from the Coromandel coast, were conveyed across the Malay Peninsula towards the Siamese capital. Most of the disclosures are extremely interesting and relate to facts hitherto ignored by Europeans and scarcely known even to the present generation of Siamese; so that their publication here for the first time throws no few side-lights on overland communication across the Malay Peninsula as well as on the route followed by a large portion of the Southern Indian trade and goods conveyed to Siām.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Mr. Leal got an inkling about—not the old, but—the new route followed by tin in his time (1825) when he visited Bān Don. He says: “The *Tha-kham* [Thā-khām] proceeds nearly across the peninsula, passing to *Pernom* [P'hanom or Thā P'hanom], a town three days journey from Phoonga [P'hang-ngā], on the western coast opposite Junkceylon, the tin and other produce of which island, find their way by this route to Bangkok.”—Reprint in Anderson's “English Intercourse with Siam,” pp. 394-395. More recently Warington Smyth briefly referred to this route as follows:

“A route greatly used in the old days, for sending the tin of the west coast to Bangkok, was up the *Pan Nga* [P'hang-ngā] or *Paklao* [Pāk Lāu] River, and then down the Bandon Valley by the other branch. I should have wished, had time permitted, to follow up these routes myself, but, owing to the absence of any tin-mining south of the bight, I had no excuse for going.” (“Five Years in Siam,” vol. II, p. 80). Yea, a very queer, but Pilate-like, way of washing one's hands of so interesting a question, on which it needed but some little pains to obtain useful information from the elder inhabitants of the Bān Don or P'hang-ngā districts. Thus it comes about that we are incorrectly told that this was the *old route*, whereas it was the *new one*,—the old route starting not from Pāk-Lāu or P'hang-ngā, but from Takūa-pā as set forth above. And then, all we are informed about is tin; whereas the Indian goods conveyed across the Peninsula by those routes have remained an unfathomed mystery to both Leal and Smyth.

**The Old Route.**—This route, we learn from document I, started from Takūa-pā on the West and crossed the main range by the rather difficult Kháu Sok (ខ្ពៅ សុក) Pass, the *Mt. Rock* of our playful cartographers. After this it descended the eastern slope and reached the P'hanom or Thā P'hnom river (ក្រពះ ឈរ, ក្រពះ ក្រ ឈរ) at Thā Kháu Sok (ក្រ ខ្ពៅ សុក), i. e. 'Sok Mount Landing-place.' This stream is the south-western branch of the old Thā Thong (ក្រ តុង) sometimes called Thā Khām (ក្រ ខ័ណ្ឌ) river, which joins the southern one, the Bān Don, at the head of the Bān Don inlet. Thā Kháu Sok is probably one and the same place as Thā P'hnom and at all events cannot lie far away from it, the latter name meaning 'Mountain Landing-place.' Here the tin and other produce were loaded into small boats and conveyed down stream to Bān Don, whence they were forwarded to the capital of Siām.

Such is the route that had been followed for the goods in question since the time of Ayuddhyā down to 1785, when the Burmese invasion of the Siāmesse provinces on the East coast of the Malay Peninsula put a stop not only to conveyancing operations along that route, but was furthermore the cause that an enormous quantity of tin and valuable crown property which had accumulated at the Kháu Sok Pass, remained blocked there for years and went in part lost. These are the facts alluded to in Document I, as follows :

"Whenever crown property had accumulated [to a certain quantity], the T'halāng authorities used to send it on to Takūa-thùng, and the authorities there had it conveyed to Takūa-pā, this being the custom that had invariably been followed for a long period. When C'halāng had not as yet been taken by the Burmese, whereas Takūa-thùng, Takūa-pā, C'haiyā and C'hump'hon had fallen into their hands [1785] quantities of tin, bales of fabrics [Indian piece-goods] and fire-arms, had accumulated and lay idle at the Sok Mountain. Lúang P'hejr-dhanū (Sēng), an official from Ligor, having come at Bān Kāu Som-ó on the P'hanom river, collected men and started to convey the crown property down to Thā Kháu Sok [evidently without being authorized to do so]. Hence a Royal

commissioner was despatched thither from the capital with an order to hold an inquiry into the doings of Lúang P'hejr-dhanū (Sēng). Owing to this, all the people along the Thā P'hanom river fled, and the deserted country became covered with jungle.

“When the P'hrah Takūa-thùng—who was the father of the later P'hrah Takūa-thùng named Thín ( ทิน )—was governor of that district, an order came to him from the capital to proceed abroad [ เมืองเทศ = India ] and get piece-goods of special patterns [ ผ้ากระบวน ] manufactured there. The governor sailed out taking with him white as well as black Baboo ( บาบูดำ, บาบูขาว ) foreigners residing in the island, and the masters [and crews] of some of the small vessels [anchored there]. At that juncture Lúang P'hākhya-wāthī (Bāgyavādī) who had gone to Trang with Lúang Khlang (Thet) an official from the capital, had proceeded [to India] where he had similar piece goods woven, and silver [and gold] vessels enamelled in various colours [as used at Court] manufactured, which he brought back with him. The Takūa-thùng governor had all these valuable things conveyed under his personal supervision [across the main range] to Thā Kháu Sok. Having [embarked them he had scarcely] reached the rapids at Pratū Lóng ( ถึงเขี้ยวประตูลอง ); when owing to a sudden flood in the river the governor's boat sank, and all the enamelled ware was lost, so that he was unable to bring it to Court.”—

After this the report under examination proceeds to relate the arrangements made by Chāu P'hyā Surindr-rājā, a high locally born official<sup>1</sup> who had become of late a sort of Governor-general (Chāng-wāng) for the tin-bearing Siāinese provinces on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula. Seeing that the time-honoured route by the Kháu Sok pass was a too difficult one owing to its steep gradients and the long journey involved by land, he proposed to open a new one which, besides being more direct and easy, would permit of

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1. Already alluded to by Forrest in 1784 when yet a simple P'hyā and assistant governor, or joint commissioner (see above, p. 50.)

a larger proportion of the distance being travelled by water. His scheme was eventually approved of and carried out under his own supervision in 1804.

Before we proceed to describe it in detail, we wish to conclude these few notes on the old route by the Kháu Sok pass, by pointing out that this overland communication between the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula at Takūa-pā and the East Coast at Bān Don ( C'haiyā district ) was probably already known from the halcyon days of Takūa-pā or *Takola* as a commercial centre and entrepôt for the inland trade of those parts, when the streams on both sides of the pass, being deeper and more navigable, made that route far easier than now-a-days. C'haiyā is known to be a very ancient foundation, which fact is further evidenced by the Sanskrit inscription of probably the eighth or ninth century A. D. but recently found there. At a period when the long circuitous navigation round the Malay Peninsula by way of the Straits was no small matter, overland routes that considerably shortened the journey from one to the other side of it were—notwithstanding the difficulties of conveying merchandise by them—naturally regarded with far greater favour than now-a-days. Thus it is that the three or four routes by the Kháu Mon Pass, the Kraï Isthmus, the Kháu Sok Pass, and probably a yet more southern one between Trang and Ligor (or Singora and P'hattalung) came to be eagerly availed of from the remotest ages and continued to hold their own until the advent of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English in these seas, when improved means of navigation and the revolution that took place in the interoceanic trade, gradually led to their complete abandonment in favour of the sea-route.

#### OPENING OF A NEW OVERLAND ROUTE, 1804.

Subjoined is the account of the opening of the new overland route, translated from the document above referred to.

“ We shall now relate the opening of the route that starts from Marùì [ and proceeds by ] Pāk Lāu, and Thā P'hame.<sup>1</sup> Chāu

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1. The Pāk Lāu river debouches into the bight east of the mouth of the P'hang-ngā river. Marùì is the first important place one meets

P'hrayā Surindr-rājā was summoned to the capital by royal command soon after the Chāu P'hrayā Kalāhôm (Pli) had found his death in the Siāmesese retreat from Tavoy [A. D. 1793],<sup>1</sup> as it was proposed to appoint him to that vacant post. When Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā reached the capital, the Supreme King and his junior brother the Vice-King bestowed on him presents of robes and tried to persuade him to remain to serve at the capital. But he thought that in the country he could lead a happier life, whereupon he entreated Chāu P'hrayā P'honlathep'h, the father of P'hrayā Bodindr Dec'hā, to submit to the King that he felt reluctant to live at the capital and that moreover being already advanced in years it would have been very difficult for him to fill the post of minister with satisfaction at a time when the King had so often to go out in the field.

Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā further prepared a memorial which he had submitted to the King, where he set forth his views that in the event of being granted permission to return to the outer provinces as of yore, he would propose to occupy himself with the re-establishment of communications for the conveyance of royalties in kind and other dues over the Peninsula from the P'hang-ngā, Thalāng and Takūa-thùng districts. The Kháu Sok route was hardly practicable on account of numerous rapids and falls in the streams; hence the crown property had gone many times lost. But another route could be opened which would reduce the journey by land to a mere three days and would besides prove far more practicable. This route would abut at Thā P'hnôm whence boats could easily descend to P'hūn-p'hin and proceed on to P'humarieng.<sup>2</sup> For the speedy conveyance of crown property he would merely

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after entering the Pāk Lāu river. Pāk Lāu village lies further up stream and Thā P'hame ( ๓๓๓๓ ) is, I presume, the disembarking place at the foot of the main range.

1. He disappeared in the course of that disastrous retreat, and nothing more transpired of him, nor was his body found. There can be no doubt that he succumbed and fell among the other dead, and his body never was recovered.

2. P'humarieng, ๓๓๓๓ is the present site of government for the C'haiyā district; P'hūn-p'hin, ๓๓๓๓, is the old site of same.

ask for a requisition of pack-elephants, to the number of 10 from Ligor and 10 from C'haiyā; that is, 20 altogether, which with the necessary men he would propose to put in charge of Lúang P'hip'hith Khoc'hakan as chief of the corps of transports and forwarding of all crown property by that route.

"The King approved of the scheme and granted the elephants for the purpose, as well as convenient sites at Pāk P'hanom and Pāk Lāu, as set forth in detail in the letter he directed the Kalāhôm Department to despatch to the authorities of the provinces concerned.<sup>1</sup> At Pāk P'hnom the three officials K'hún Thip'h-sombat, Khún P'hejr-khiri, and Khún Sri Songkhrām were to be put in charge of the station. For Marùi and Pāk Lāu Lúang Riddhirong-songkhrām was to be superintendent; and all the territory between Marùi and Pāk P'hnom was placed under the control of Chāu P'hayā Surindr-rājā.<sup>2</sup>

"Pursuant to the above royal grant, Chāu P'hayā Surindr-rājā returned to his native country [and made at once arrangements for the carrying out of the scheme]. He accordingly appointed Khún Thip'h-sombat to be Lúang Rāmabijai,<sup>3</sup> and stationed him at P'hanom with orders to cut a track through the jungle from Pāk P'hnom to P'hang-ngā. He further directed Lúang Riddhirong-songkhrām to collect a sufficient number of men [serfs] at Marùi and Pāk Lāu wherewith to convey, whenever required, crown property across the range to Thā P'hnom, to be handed over there to Lúang Rāmabijai who was to forward it on towards its destination.

"Moreover Chāu P'hayā Surindr-rājā established the following halting-stations and guard posts on the overland route:

1. Dated Thursday, 5th waxing of the [second] 8th month, year of the Rat, 6th of the decennial cycle (= 12th July, 1804). This document is reproduced in Appendix A, No. III.

2. The boundaries of such a territory are defined in the documents appended to the letter-patent alluded to above.

3. As will be seen from the sequel, Chāu P'hayā Surindr-rājā had authority to make such appointments. Similar power was enjoyed by the principal provincial governors in so far as petty official posts in the country were concerned.



1.—at the foot of Kháu Nāng Hóng ( “Swan-hen Mountain” ),

เขา นางหงส์,

2.—at Pāk Dān, ปาก ตาน (or ปาก กระ ตาน, Pāk Kradān);

3.—at Thùng-Khā, ตำบลทุ่งคา,

4.—at Marùi, มรุ่ย;

5.—at Pāk P’hnom; ปากพนม ;

and had rest-houses built at each of them,<sup>1</sup> and men collected thither for the protection of the crown property.

“So, henceforth only the valuables from the Takūa-pā district, were [conveyed across the Kháu Sok Pass and] transported down stream to Thā Kháu Sok [as of yore]; whereas those from P’hang-ngā, Thalāng, and Takūa-thùng were brought together at Marùi where they waited until the pack elephants were ready to load them. Lúang Nā was promoted to P’hrah Wiset-songkhrām superintendent of the Dān Yāu station, and entrusted with the task of receiving and embarking the valuables at P’hanom, and bringing them down stream [to Bān Don or further]. Khún P’hejr [-khirī] and Khún Indr were appointed to assist him as overseers.

“Upon these arrangements being completed, Chāu P’hrayā Surindr-rājā despatched Khún Srī Somp’hôt to solicit an audience from His Highness the governor of Ligor,<sup>2</sup> and inform him of the official appointments he had made at the stations and guard-posts from Marùi to Pāk P’hnom. The governor of Ligor observed that Chāu P’hrayā Surindr had better not to make such appointments, as he would send out himself the officials required from Ligor; so that future governors might not have cause to censure their administra-

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1. Kháu Nāng Hóng is near Pāk Lāu; Pāk Dān is further upstream from Pāk Lāu village, on the banks of Khlong Lāu; Thùng-Khā is on the eastern (really north-eastern) watershed towards Thā P’hnom; Pāk P’hnom is one and the same place as (or near by) Thā P’hnom; Marùi is within the entrance of Khlong Lāu, below Pāk Lāu village.

2. This was then Mom-chāu P’hat (Vaddhana), the son of a Prince of the Ayuddhyā dynasty. He governed Ligor from 1785 to 1821 in which year he retired owing to old age, and died in 1839. His eldest son had succeeded him since 1821.

tion and allege that the present governor of Ligor and Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā being good chums, availed themselves of their excellent mutual relations in order to turn things upside down and to unite and dismember the country at their own sweet pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

"When Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā heard of these objections, he sent a reply to the governor of Ligor pointing out how it would have been far better for the latter not to appoint the officials in question himself as proposed ; that he, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā, would see to that, in order that the crown property might be conveyed in accordance with the plan he had submitted to the King and which he had been authorized to carry out. There the dispute ended, and so the posts of Marūi and Thā P'hnom remained under the full control of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā."

The document from which we have extracted the above account proceeds to give a few more particulars as to taxes, boundaries, etc. with which we are not directly interested here, and concludes by explaining which were the "Eight Districts" placed under Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā's superintendence, as follows :

"Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā was the highest authority over the Eight Districts. P'hrayā Prasiddhi Songkhram [apparently his son and successor] was also Chāng-wāng (*i. e.* Governor General) over the same eight districts. The Eight Districts in question were :

1. Thalāng, ๓๓๓	[ Junkceylon Island ]	5. Korā, ๓๓๓	[ under Takūa-pā ]
2. P'huket, ๓๓๓		6. P'hang-ngā, ๓๓๓	
3. Takūa-pā, ๓๓๓		7. Khurah, ๓๓๓	
4. Takūa-thung, ๓๓๓		8. Khurot, ๓๓๓	

Korā, P'hang-ngā, Khurah and Khurot were immediate dependencies of Takūa-pā."

These passages clearly show what was the organization of the tin-producing territories on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the beginning

1. These objections were, of course, prompted by the fact that the territory of Marūi, Pāk Lāu, and Thā P'hnom through which the new route passed, was under the high control of the Ligor authorities.

of the nineteenth. It is not improbable that its origin is traceable still further back; while on the other hand it seems to have continued until the last quarter of the nineteenth century or, practically, till the present day, for the actual Monṭhon P'hūket or P'hūket Circle approximately comprises the territory of the former Governor-generalship of the Eight Districts.

As to P'hūket we have seen that at the period we are concerned with, it had been placed under the immediate jurisdiction of C'hālāng, although formerly it was separate. This change, however, probably took place only after the destruction of Thā Rāia town, the capital of the district, by the Burmese in 1809, as we are going to see directly.

#### 2ND BURMESE INVASION OF JUNKCEYLON: AUGUST, 1809.

The next mention of occurrences at Junkceylon Island to be met with in local records is that of the Burmese invasions of 1809-10, accounts of which are subjoined, taken almost in their entirety from the Bāngkok Annals of the second reign.

In June-July (1809) the king of Burma having heard of the serious illness of the Siāmesse sovereign<sup>1</sup>, sent orders to Mēng-nā-lē, the Burmese governor of Tavoy, to equip a flotilla and sail down the West coast of the Malay Peninsula to gather reliable news on Siāmesse affairs. Mēng-nā-lē, having got every thing in readiness took the sea with 60 war boats and 3000 men. He pushed down as far as Junkceylon where he anchored and landed a force wherewith to take possession of the principal villages on the coast. This having been accomplished, the Burmese troops encamped themselves at some 50 sens (1½ miles) from Thalāng town.

The inhabitants there were quite unready, having been taken by surprise. Nevertheless the governor (P'hrayā Thalāng) collected men to guard the ramparts. The Burmese invested the city from three sides and prepared for attack. Their advanced posts occupied several points of vantage in front of the town, carefully guarding its approaches from the sea, so that no outside relief should reach it.

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1. P'hrah Buddha Yot-fā, who deceased on the 7th September, 1809.

On the 7th August the enemy opened fire. The fight lasted for eight days, the Siamese being unable to carry it on any further owing to dearth of ammunition. The Burmese fought very boldly and succeeded in storming the city on Tuesday the 15th August. They did a good deal of slaughter among the inhabitants, plundering all the valuables. Next they set fire to the dwellings, so that conflagrations broke out in many points of the town. This done, they took with them whatever inhabitants they had succeeded in capturing alive, and having loaded their vessels with the plunder, made for Tavoy, with the exception of Chik-kë, the second in command of the expedition who, being in charge of the rear, left a few days later.

From that moment utter lawlessness raged in the district. The governor of Thalāng when the town was about to fall into the enemy's hands had taken refuge in the jungle followed by many of the inhabitants. Now that the enemy was gone he returned with the survivors to the town. Fearing new attacks on the part of the Burmese he collected men and built a stockade outside the town. He also endeavoured to repair as far as possible the damages that its defences had suffered.

Meanwhile Chik-kë, the Burmese lieutenant commander, had met with a severe storm out at sea, blowing from the east, hence his boats were driven back to the point of the Thalāng coast where the Siamese force had assembled. On being apprised of this unexpected bit of good luck the governor swooped with his men on the Burmese, captured all their war boats and made numbers of prisoners, including the lieutenant-commander Chik-kë himself, whom he sent to Bāngkok under escort with a report of the occurrences.

Upon this being submitted to the King, H. M. observed that the Thalāng governor, through lack of foresight and watchfulness, had suffered the town and a large number of the inhabitants to fall into the hands of the Burmese, thus committing a most grave offence punishable by death, for the ancient laws of Siām laid it down that whatever governor of a town or fortress abandons it to the enemy, renders himself liable to capital punishment. In the present instance the governor of Thalāng fully deserved the application of that clause. On the other hand, however, he had earned some

title to recognition from the fact that, having become fully aware of his fault and the consequences thereof to himself, he displayed earnestness in organizing subsequently the defence in his district with stockades, etc., and thus succeeded in capturing many of the enemies including one of their chiefs. This was a deserving act on the part of the governor of Thalāng; which, though insufficient to clear him entirely of blame, should save him from the application of capital punishment. Therefore, let him be brought to the capital in durance vile, so that he may amend his ways for the future.

Having thus expressed himself, the king commanded the Kalāhôm to despatch a royal commissioner with a warrant to seize the governor of Thalāng and bring him to Bāngkok to serve his sentence; meanwhile to entrust one of the principal local officials with the defence of the island against new possible attacks of the Burmese. The commissioner appointed proceeded to Thalāng with the warrant, notified the royal commands to the local officials, and having seized the governor brought him in fetters to Bāngkok. The king thereupon sentenced him to receive sixty strokes of the rattan on his back, and to be imprisoned.

Chik-kē, the captured Burmese chief, was beheaded at the Wat Saket cemetery; but his followers were merely sent to jail.

Meanwhile, Mēng-nā-lē, the Tavoy governor, having reached that town with his flotilla, proceeded up to Ava to inform the king of his successes. The Burmese king forthwith expressed his intention of despatching a powerful expedition into Siām to seize the capital.

On the other hand the King of Siām, considering that Thalāng was an outlying district constantly exposed to Burmese attacks and that there was no governor on the spot able to efficiently defend it, the former occupant of that office being still in prison, thought that the three months' penance the latter had undergone might prove a sufficient corrective for him; and further that he, being a native of the place and fully conversant with local needs and conditions, if pardoned would seemingly be able to induce the people to offer a vigorous resistance to any future attacks on the part of the Burmese. Thereupon he had the governor released and reinstated

into his former appointment. The unlucky governor took leave of His Majesty and returned to his post a sadder, though perhaps no wiser, man.<sup>1</sup>

3RD BURMESE INVASION OF JUNKCEYLON:  
Nov.-Dec., 1809 to Jan., 1810.

Meanwhile the King of Burma had sent general Atōng-wun to Tavoy for the purpose of making raids on C'hump'hon, Takūa-pā, Takūa-thùng and Thalāng. Towards the end of October (1809) this officer having made all necessary preparations both by land and sea, despatched Yē-khong at the head of a body of some 4000 men in war boats to attack Thalāng; and a similar force of 3000 men to raid Ranong, Krah, and C'hump'hon.

Yē-khong sailed out and took Takūa-pā on the 17th of October; then he swooped on Takūa-thùng which offered no resistance, the people having fled terror-struck into the jungle. Hence he made ready to attack Thalāng, and with this end in view he established his headquarters at Pāk-P'hrah.

Intelligence of the fall of Takūa-pā and Takūa-thùng had meanwhile been sent to Bangkok by the respective authorities. The Thalāng governor also despatched a message in all haste to the capital informing the Court of the grave peril impending upon the island. He next did his best in providing for its defence, and got the inhabitants inside the stockades.

The Burmese having landed and taken position, advanced to attack the stockade outside the town, which they carried. Then they invested Thalāng town with 25 stockades connected together by entrenchments with caltrops, etc., very accurately built. Meeting, however, with a stubborn resistance on the part of the besieged, they decided to resort to stratagem and feign a retreat. Thus, after having set fire to their 25 stockades they withdrew and got into their boats, sailing out towards the end of November. The governor of Thalāng, upon learning from the explorers he had

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1, I should not think it can be here a question of P'hayā Thalāng Chiet-thong, for in the 1841 report it is distinctly stated as we have seen above (p. 62) that this official died in prison at Bangkok. It seems likely, therefore, that his immediate successor Thien—the Asthmatic—is implied.

sent out to watch the Burmese movements, that the enemy was really gone out of sight of the island, very foolishly allowed his people to leave the camps and attend to their business, as provisions had begun to run very scarce.

Yë-gaung, on the other hand, after having sailed and lounged about for a few days, well imagining that the Thalāng people must have deserted their stockades, so that by a sudden return he should easily carry the town, hastened back and landed his force at [ the ] Yā-mū [ peninsula ] in the P'hūket district. Thence, marching through the jungle across the interior of the island, he unexpectedly appeared before Thalāng town which he invested on Sunday, the 17th December, 1809. The Thalāng governor summoned his men to the stockades, but time failed for the assembling of a sufficient force for the efficient defence of the place.

Meanwhile the Bāngkok government, on receipt of the tidings, had despatched P'hrayā Daśayodhā and P'hrayā Rāja-prasiddhi at the head of 6000 men from C'haiyā across the Peninsula by the Pāk P'hnom route, to relieve Thalāng. It further sent Chāu P'hrayā Yomarāj (Noi) as general, and P'hrayā Thāi-nam as vanguard commander to Ligor with 5000 men and orders for the governor there to collect at least another 10,000 wherewith to move in aid of Thalāng.<sup>1</sup>

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1. An attempt had been made by government to obtain the 10,000 men required from Kamboja, as the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi" informs us. Here is the passage bearing on the matter, culled from Aubaret's translation of that Annamese work:—"On the 8th year of Jā-long, in the 8th month (September-October 1809), the King of Siam had a despatch sent to Kamboja announcing that as his kingdom was at war with Burma, the hostilities having as theatre the territory of *Xa-lang* (C'halāng), he requested some 10,000 Kambojan auxiliaries to be sent as reinforcements. An advance body of 3,000 men was to proceed by sea and place itself at the disposal of the King of Siam in the city of *Vong-oa* [ Bāngkok ] which is the royal residence" (Aubaret's "Histoire et Description de la Basse Cochinchine"; Paris, 1863; p. 123). But a rebellion broke out in Kamboja on the 13th day of the same (eighth) month, and no men were sent on to Siām.

The extract just quoted is important as evidencing that the Annamese way of spelling the name of Junkceylon, agrees with the Siānese one. With the *quoc-ngũ* system of romanization, the name assumes the form *Xa-lang* which is identical with the one (*Xalang*) employed by Bishop Pallegoix to render the Siānese name of the island after the

The two generals with the first nucleus of troops left Bangkok on the 2nd December; and having got their complement of men at Ligor, crossed over the Peninsula to Trang. Here, not finding sufficient boats in readiness, they resolved to tarry for a while in order to build new ones. When some 80 boats had been got together, P'hrayā Thāi-nam was sent on in advance with 30. As he neared Koh C'hanak<sup>1</sup> he heard the noise of the Burmese gongs, and drums, and of the enemy's shouts in the distance, so he steered for the shore of Junkceylon. Here he found that the Burmese expedition had just landed at Thā Ya-mū.

Siamese disaster at Ya-mu—A fight ensued, in which the Burmese were worsted at first owing to lack of artillery in their boats, as they had taken their guns out on shore, and sent them on to be used in the sieges of Thalāng and P'hūket (Thā Rūa town). But through the negligence of some artillery-man in P'hrayā Thāi-nam's war-boat the lid a barrel of gunpowder had not been carefully replaced; hence some sparks from the guns soon fell in the barrel and set the contents ablaze. A terrific explosion followed which blew the boat to pieces. Moreover the sparks reached the gunpowder barrels in the neighbouring boats as well, thus causing several of them to be blown out in succession. But while some of the occupants of the latter escaped unhurt or but slightly wounded, every man in P'hyā Thāi-nam's boat perished. Lúang Sunthorn

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same system. It might, of course, be observed that the Annamese probably got the form *Xa-lang* (=C'ha-lāng) from the Siamese; but it is more likely they became independently acquainted with the island, or first heard of it through Chinese sources.

1. เกาะ พังง์. This island lies to the northward of Pulo Panjang. It seems, therefore, that the Siamese flotilla was keeping close by the shore of the Malay Peninsula, and had probably just taken some channel between the islands to the north of Pulo Panjang, in order to proceed thence towards the north-eastern coast of Junkceylon. It would seem almost that its intention was to proceed by Pāk-P'hrah Strait to the West coast of the island, and thence, by the Bān-Don River (คลอง บ้านดอน) to reach Thalāng town (then rising on the site of the present village of Bān Takhien). But probably the course in question was simply steered in order to keep under cover of the islands and reach some point on the east or north-east coast of Junkceylon unperceived by the Burmese.



and Lúang Kamhēng-songkhrām rushed in to lend assistance; and, amongst others, they recovered the shattered body of P'hya Thainam whom they brought ashore at Khlong Bāng Lāu (Khlong Lāu or Pāk Lāu) whence the remains were sent on to Bāngkok. Owing to the above deplorable accident, no further operations against the Burmese could be undertaken by this naval expedition.

As to P'hrayā Daśayodhā who had come across the Peninsula with his force from C'haiyā, he reached P'hang-ngā and took position at the mouth of the stream there (Pāk-nam Mūang P'hang-ngā); but was unable to cross thence to Junkceylon, as he had only small boats at hand; so he waited for the wind to calm down before attempting the passage.

On the other hand the Burmese, upon becoming aware that several Siānese expeditions were on their way to relieve Junkceylon, hastened their operations and stormed P'hūket (Thā Rūa town) which they carried in a single day. They then sent the troops available there to reinforce those engaged about Thalāng.

**Fall of Thalāng**—The siege of Thalāng had sedulously been carried on day and night for 27 days, and at last the town fell into the Burmese hands on Saturday, the 13th January, 1810. The Burmese plundered the place and carried the people captives to Tavoy.

So far the Bāngkok Annals of the Second Reign. A few more particulars on the above events are supplied to us by Pallegoix in his chapter on the history of Catholic missions in Siām<sup>1</sup> and by the brief "History of the Churches of India, Burma, Siam,"<sup>2</sup> etc. Pallegoix' account relates to the siege of the city of "Jongselang." Although it may not appear quite clearly at first sight whether under such designation C'halāng town or P'hūket (*i. e.* Thā Rūa) town is meant, there can be no doubt that it is really a question of the former, for the account mentions that the town fell after four weeks of a very harassing siege, which practically tallies with the 27 days assigned to the same in the Bāngkok Annals. P'hūket (*i. e.* Thā Rūa) town, on the contrary, was reduced, as we have seen, in a single day. An important particular we glean from Pallegoix' narrative is, that a French missionary had again been sent to the

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1. "Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam," tome II, pp. 284-286.

2. *China Review*, vol. XVIII (1889-90), p. 12.

island, who remained besieged in its capital along with the other inhabitants, and though having succeeded in making his escape ultimately met his death at the hand of unscrupulous murderers. With these premises we may now proceed to give here a translation of the account, which runs as follows.

“Towards the end of November 1809, the Burmese laid siege to *Jongselang* town. After four weeks of a very bloody siege, the fortress,—the hope and refuge of all the inhabitants of the island,—was taken and burnt to ashes by the enemy. Some of the inhabitants were killed; the remnant were either made prisoners or sought safety into the woods. M. Rabeau, an apostolical missionary who had remained in the citadel the whole time that the siege lasted, occupied himself in tending the sick, teaching the pagans, and baptising many adults among whom were two Buddhist monks and a large number of little children on the point of death.

“The Christians having determined to issue forth from the citadel, M. Rabeau followed them. On their way they met the Burmese, brandishing swords and lances. M. Rabeau advanced towards them, holding a crucifix in his right hand and a picture of the Holy Virgin in his left, and told them: ‘I am a priest of the living God, and have done harm to nobody.’ God touched the heart of the Burmese; they laid their hands upon the heads of the missionary and of his Christian followers and bade them to sit down; after which they tied them and took the cassock as well as the breviary from M. Rabeau. Soon after that they freed them of their bonds and, through the intervention of one of the chiefs, they brought them to the camp, tied their feet and locked them up there. They were thus left until ten o’clock next morning, and during the interval they were spared neither threats nor insults. Towards ten o’clock an officer, Caffre by origin, came to visit them and took away with him three of the Christians. In the middle of night another Christian officer sent for all of them and had them shifted to another camp where he dwelt with the general. He procured them all sorts of relief and consolation.

“After having pillaged everything at *Jongselang*, the Burmese embarked for a place near by. M. Rabeau, who felt a little ill, went on board one of the best vessels, the captain of which was a

Christian and a friend of his. A short time after they had put out to sea, the crew—who were either people from Bengal or Moors,—seized the captain and bound him with the intention of casting him overboard. M. Rabeau strongly upbraided the crew in order to deter them from such a crime, but they bound him also and cast both of them into the sea; thus the holy missionary perished a victim to his charity. Those villains further massacred some other persons. A violent storm prevented them from reaching the place they were bound to; they were blown away on the Madras coast where they were arrested and prosecuted.<sup>1</sup>

“Some years before the death of M. Rabeau the English had established themselves on *Pulo Pinang* [Penang Island, A. D. 1786] where then existed but a score of fishermen’s huts. This new colony having rapidly increased, nearly all the Christians of *Quedah* and *Jongselang* sought refuge in it, and formed there two Christian settlements which survive to this day.”

Before concluding these notes on the sieges of P’huket (Thā Rūa town) and Thalāng or C’halāng, it may be well to call attention to an error in chronology that has long been repeated in European accounts of the island and which, if not exposed, threatens to acquire a permanent standing. In which work it first appeared and who was the writer who carelessly or inadvertently originated it I am unable to say; suffice therefore to point out that even in the latest editions of carefully compiled publications such as, *e. g.* the “Bay of Bengal Pilot”<sup>2</sup> and the “China Sea Directory”<sup>3</sup> we find it stated that “the town of Tarúa [Thā Rūa], which.....was formerly the residence of the Raja of Puket.....was demolished by the Burmese” in 1796. Now, in so far as I could find, there was no Burmese invasion of Junkceylon that year; and the destruction of Thā Rūa here alluded to cannot be other than that which, as we have seen above, took place towards the end of December 1809, or early in January 1810. A mistake of a mere 13 to 14 years, which

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1. The *China Review* account is far more brief than the above which it confirms in the main points. The name of Father Rabeau has there been misprinted *Rabran*.

2. 3rd ed.; London, 1901, p. 435.

3. vol. I, 4th ed.; London, 1896, pp. 119-120.

evidences how the few scraps of Junkceylonese history hitherto dealt out to us in extant works of reference sorely need not only supplementing, but also drastic emendation.

#### 4TH BURMESE INVASION OF THE ISLAND: 1811-12.

The tidings of Burmese freebooting on Junkceylon reached the Siāinese Court at Bāngkok on the 17th February 1810. The King, gravely preoccupied with the want of success of his troops, had a message despatched to Chāu P'hrayā Yomarāj, the general in command at Trang, censuring him for his inaction which resulted in the Burmese being suffered to twice attack the island and reducing both its cities; and exhorting him to be on the alert, as the enemy might return to deliver attacks on both Trang and Ligor.

It was, however, on Junkceylon that the Burmese again vented their spite. By the end of December 1811 or the dawn of January 1812 a body of them, 5000 strong, once more landed on the island and took position at about  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from Thalāng town, building stockades which lacked, however, in solidity. Upon news of the fresh invasion reaching Bāngkok, the King ordered the Kalāhōm to collect some 8000 men in the Malay Peninsula, where he sent his younger brother the Second King with another 2000 men from Bāngkok with a view to their marching to the relief of Junkceylon. The Second King, however, had barely arrived at C'hump'hon, when intelligence reached him that the Burmese had been compelled by the inhabitants to raise the siege of Thalāng. The local officials had succeeded in making three of the enemy prisoners, whom they sent along with the message. So the expedition returned to Bāngkok without having to strike a blow.

This bloodless dénouement, besides frustrating an occasion for the leaders of the expedition to distinguish themselves, also deprived the national literature and, the more unfortunately so, that of Junkceylon, of perhaps one of its gems. For Chamūn Sṛi Soraraks, who followed in the expedition, had commenced to write down a description of the journey in the form of the well-known erotic poems styled Nirās, *นิราศ*, i. e. "Separation [from one's sweet-heart]," which in consequence remained at the state of a mere fragment, stopping off abruptly at mouth of the Thā-Chīn

River.<sup>1</sup> Junkceylon was to have to wait another half century before getting its bard.

HOW A CHINESE TRADER ROSE TO BE CAPTAIN CHINA  
AT JUNKCEYLON: 1821.

After the above date the Burmese, having their attention distracted by more weighty matters at home, left Junkceylon quiet. But,—the Bāngkok Annals tell us towards the end of the Second Reign,—they had been all the time instigating the English, the Annamese, and the rāja of Kedah, to attack Bāngkok. This is what led to the Siānese repressive expedition upon Kedah in November 1821, owing to the following incident which caused the scale of Siānese longanimity to turn.

That year a Macao Chinaman, Lim Hoi, ดิม หอย, by name, who was a resident merchant of Thalāng, had gone to Penang on business, and while returning therefrom he caught sight of a Burmese sailing vessel, looking somewhat differently from ordinary trading boats. His suspicions being aroused he attacked it, and while examining its contents, came across a Burmese official letter addressed to the rāja of Kedah. He thereupon seized the boat and crew, which he brought to Thalāng and made over to the governor. This official forwarded the letter and

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1. This interesting fragment of what should have proved no second rate literary production, has been preserved—strange to say—in a collection of old erotic poems, printed under the title of เพลง ยาว เก้า, in small 8vo.; pp. 15-27.

It should be mentioned that the Trang governor of the period (พระยาตรัง), himself a distinguished poet, on being despatched in 1809 to the West coast of the Malay Peninsula with the expedition that was to relieve Junkceylon, also wrote a Nirās on the trip, surviving to this day under the title of โคลง นิราศ พระยาตรัง. Though covering a wider area than the above, it nevertheless knocks off the itinerary at Lām Sai near O'haiyā, from which district the author very likely set out overland across the Malay Peninsula.

Thus Junkceylon Island twice came well nigh within being sung by Siānese bards, and only the third time succeeded in winning a place in the national poetry.

prisoners, together with Lim Hoi, to Bāngkok. Here the letter was translated, when it proved to be an instigation of the Burmese to the Kedah rāja to rebel. The King suitably rewarded Lim-hoi, and appointed him Lúang Rāja—Capitan ( หลวง ราช ณะ บัณฑิต ), chief collector of royalty in kind on tin-mines for Junkceylon Island. This appointment evidently included not only the tin-smelting monopoly, already existing from the last quarter of the eighteenth century (see above, pp. 39, 55), but also the collection of crown dues on the net produce (*supra*, pp. 26-27).

#### CAPTAIN LOW'S VISIT: 1824.

Turning now from Siānese to European records, we meet with very useful information on Junkceylon in various publications by Captain (afterwards Colonel) James Low who visited the island and its interior in 1824. Being a diligent investigator of antiquities, as well as a proficient student of the Siānese language, he was able to gather interesting particulars that had escaped the attention of his predecessors. I regret not having access to his paper published on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1835<sup>1</sup>; and can only refer to his other articles in *Asiatic Researches* and in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

The one from the former of the two last named magazines has been republished in "Essays relating to Indo-China,"<sup>2</sup> and the following are the principal points touched upon.

"Most of the small islands lying betwixt Trang and Junkceylon seem for the greatest part composed of granite. It prevails in the latter island, and here again tin appears in proximity to or interspersed in it and its débris.

"A range of hills, the highest of which I believe will not be found to exceed one thousand feet, stretches longitudinally through the island, with one large break in the middle. The island was probably once joined to the mainland, since the Papra [ Pak P'hrah,

1. Vol. II, part II: "History of Tenasserim," pp. 248 *et seqq.*

2. Or, "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China," vol. I; London 1886. The observations concerning Junkceylon occur on pp. 184-185. The volume of the *Asiatic Researches* where the paper originally appeared is vol. XVIII, 1833.

ໄຮງ ] Strait, which separates the two, is narrow and rocky. The island, when I visited the interior in 1824, had a population of six thousand souls (Siamese).....

"...as the population has been reduced to about six thousand souls, and as the Siamese have mines closer to their capital, a very small supply only is now taken from the island. Perhaps it may be rated at one hundred baharas of 446 lbs. average each. A Chinese smelter informed me that he could afford to produce tin at a cost of one half at the utmost of the market rate. The miners dig pits of from twelve to twenty feet deep, but seldom venture a lateral shaft. The ore is generally in round or oblong masses, with well-defined crystals and in a matrix of quartz, or bedded in masses resembling half decomposed granite, yet of considerable hardness."

Thus we see that the output of ore, dwindled from 500 tons *per annum* at the time of Captain Forrest's visit (1784, see above, p. 55), to a paltry 20 tons in 1824. There can be no doubt that this was entirely the result of the repeated Burmese raids on the island, which had reduced its population to about 6000 souls. Before, the latter must have been four or five times as much as that, if not far more (*cf. supra*, p. 52). The original inhabitants having thus been for the most part destroyed, it was only by foreign imported labour that the mines could again be made to prosper. This result was soon to be achieved by immigrants from China, who flocked to the island in large numbers during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In his other paper on "Buddha and the Phrabāt," published in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*,<sup>1</sup> Colonel Low in alluding to a Buddha's footprint commonly believed to have been left in the neighbourhood of Junkceylon and which, he says, is called "Suwanna Malike Phrabāt P'hokhá," observes (pp. 65-66) :

"The Siamese allege that this impression is extant on the coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, opposite to *Selan*, or *Salang*, as they term Junkceylon.<sup>2</sup> And here some notice may be taken of an indication of a totally different species of superstition, said to

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1. Vol. III; London, 1835; pp. 57-124.

2. The same footprint is again briefly alluded to on p. 62.

have been discovered on that island; viz. a *Rāetīn* [Roi-tīn, <sup>ᠷᠠᠡᠲᠢᠨ</sup>], as it is termed by the Siamese, or impression of a *dog's foot*, together with an image of that animal, which is reported to have once existed upon a rock at the northern point of the island, and which are said to be held in veneration by the Malays along the opposite coast; who, notwithstanding their conversion to a purer and more orthodox Mahommedanism than is now professed throughout most parts of India, are yet wedded to many obscure and unexplained remnants of their ancient superstitions. The modern Siamese however do not regard them.

"No opportunity of visiting the spot, when on Junkceylon in 1824, occurred to me: nor, indeed, is it of much consequence, while we are sure that there exists a belief that such figures, or objects, were once venerated there. Some credit may be attached to the account, because Dr. Leyden, while treating of the *Anamite* religion, remarks that 'many local and peculiar superstitions are blended with it, such as the worship of the dog and the tiger; traces of which are to be found amongst the mountaineers on the borders of India, as well as in the countries of China Proper.'"

The words that Colonel Low read *Suwanna Malike* are, correctly, *Suvaṇṇamālikē*, but other versions have *Suvaṇṇamāli-giri*. *Suvarṇa-māli*, *Suvaṇṇa-māli*, or *Sālmali* was, as I have elsewhere pointed out, the classical Indū name for the Malay Peninsula. In a Pāli sūtra on the five footprints alleged to have been left by the Buddha, which is preserved in Siām, it is stated that the first one was stamped somewhere on the territory of *Suvaṇṇa-māli*, and a second was impressed on the top of the *Suvaṇṇa-pabbata-giri*, i. e. the "Golden Mountain" which is located in the province of *Tenas-serim*.<sup>1</sup> Other versions have *Suvaṇṇa-māli* and *Suvaṇṇa-māli-giri*.

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1. The sūtra in question, which forms part of a formula recited in adoration of the Buddha, is of the following tenor: "*Suvaṇṇamālike, Suvaṇṇapabbate, Sumanakūṭe, Yonakapure, Nammadāya-nadiyā: pañcapādavaram thānam, aham vandāmi dūrato.*" [From afar I pay reverence to the Five Noble Footprints that are extant on *Suvaṇṇamāli* (or *Suvaṇṇamālika*), on *Suvaṇṇapabbata* (the Gold Mount), on *Sumanakūṭa* (Adam's Peak), in the *Yonaka* country (land of the Ionians, locally identified with the principality of *Ch'eng-Mai*), and on the bank of the *Narmadā* river (the *Nerbudda* in India)].



Of course, the five footprints—with the single exception of the too well-known one on Adam's Peak in Ceylon,—are located within Siamese territory and mostly identified with artificial imitations which are known to be of comparatively modern date. But the same has been done by the Burmese with regard to their country.

I have not heard of any Buddha's footprint on the coast of the Malay Peninsula opposite Junkceylon; but as facsimiles of such are frequent all over Siām, it should not be surprising if one were to be found there also. On the other hand, it is a positive fact that one is extant on the rocks by the sea-shore at Koh Khien, ကုန်းကြမ်း —otherwise, Pagoda Island,—opposite the southern extremity of Junkceylon island itself, an account of which we shall meet in the sequel.

Another sūtra runs as follows:—

“Yaṃ Nammadāya nadiyā, puline ca tīre;  
 Yaṃ Saccabandhagirike, Sumanā ca lagge;  
 Yaṃ tattha Yonakapure, Munino ca pādaṃ;  
 Taṃ pādalañjanamaham sirasā namāmi.”

[I bow my head in adoration to the Sacred Footprints left by the Sage on the sands by the bank of the Narmadā river (taken by some to be two distinct impressions, viz. one on the bank of the river and the other on the sands by the seashore, though I believe a single one is implied); on mount Saccabandha (locally identified with the well known P'hrāḥ Bād near Ayuddhyā); on mount Sumana (Adam's Peak); and in the country of the Ionians].

The Burmese put, of course, on this text a different interpretation to suit both their fancy and their country's topography. Hence, they identify the footprint on mount Saccabandha with the one on the Thitsaban (Saccabandha) Hill near Legaing; the Narmadā river with the little watercourse *Man* (Man Chaung) flowing near by; and the Narmadā footprint with the one extant on the left bank of the Man river itself near Sagu a little southwards from Legaing (Minbu district).

The Ceylonese, on the other hand, preserve intact the original tradition as to the footprints in question having been left on the sands near the mouth of the Narmadā (Nerbudda) river, and on the Saccabandha rock, respectively, both in the Western part of India. And it is not unlikely that the footprint in the Ionian country is the very one mentioned by Fā-hien in circā A. D. 400 as extant in Udyāna (now Swat), north of the Punjab. It is a far cry from thence to C'hieng-Mai. As regards the impression of Buddha's foot alleged to exist on Suvannamālī territory, however, I adhere to the views expressed above.

In Appendix No. IV to his "Grammar of the Thai or Siamese Language"—the pioneer work published on the subject<sup>1</sup>—Captain Low reproduces as a "Specimen of the Epistolary Style" a letter he had received from the Junkceylon authorities some years before, while on official duty at Penang. The document in question—although from a literary point of view it may be said to pass muster merely as a specimen of *Thai-Nok* epistolary effusions—proves to be of peculiar interest for the present inquiry from the fact that it gives in its exordium the titles (if not, unfortunately, the personal names) of the official then governing Junkceylon Island as well as the neighbouring Districts, and of his son who is the writer of it. The latter describes himself, in fact, as "P'hrah Boriraks P'hūthorn, the son of the Hon. P'hrayā Narong Rūang Riddhi Prasiddhi Songkhram, Governor of Thalāng [P'hrayā Thalāng], who has come out to look after the welfare of the people in Thalāng, Bāng Khli, Takūa-thūng, Takūa Pā, and the rest of the Eight Districts."<sup>2</sup> The letter is dated Monday, the 4th waning of the 9th Moon, year of the Monkey and 6th of the decennial cycle=13th August 1824.

From the fact that the Governor in question is therein described as having "come out" to take charge of the island, we must conclude that he cannot have been a locally born official, but must have been sent out from the capital. Hence we think ourselves justified in identifying him with Governor Buñ-khong (พระ ยา ถาง บุญ คง) of whom a notice will appear further on.

The title P'hrayā Narong Rūang Riddhi for Thalāng governors persisted, it may be observed, until 1902, when the last

1. Calcutta, 1828; p. 83.

2. "พระ บริรักษ์ ภูธร, บุตร ท่าน พระ ยา ณรงค์ เรื่องฤทธิ ประสิทธิ สงคราม, พระยา ถาง, ผู้ ออก มา สำ เร็จ กิจ ศึก ทัพ อนุ ประชา ราชภูธร ณเมืองถาง, บาง คดี, ตกัว ทุ่ง, ตะ กัวป่า, ทั้ง แปร หัว เมือง" — The document is also remarkable from the fact that therein the name of the P'hang-ngā district is spelled P'hū-ngā (Bhū-ngā) ภูงา, after the Malay (or may be the older?) form.

bearer of it,—Nū, หนู by name—died (November 18th).<sup>1</sup>

#### CAPTAIN BURNEY'S VISIT: 1826.

Crawfurd, in the course of an enumeration of the sources from which the map appended to his "Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin China"<sup>2</sup> was compiled in 1828, tells us that the delineation of the country "from Mergui to Junkceylon is taken from a sketch by Captain Burney, who visited this part of the coast." Captain (afterwards Major) Henry Burney journeyed from India to Siam in 1826 as envoy on the part of the English Government, the Honourable East India Company, and the Governor of Bengal, to negotiate a treaty at Bāngkok, which was ultimately signed on June 20th of that year. Whether an account of his journey has ever been published, and if so where it appeared, I am not aware. If it is in existence it should contain some interesting particulars anent Junkceylon, which appears to have been visited by him.

Among the Siamese provinces opened to unrestricted trade with the English possessions in the Straits by virtue of Article 10 of that treaty, Junkceylon is mentioned. We have seen from other sources that intercourse between this island and Penang especially, had been established many years before that date. To Major Burney's observations, and may be also to Mr. Leal's remarks (1825) already adverted to, is presumably due the appearance for the first time on the map appended to Crawfurd's work, of the overland route across the Malay Peninsula from Pāk Lāu to the Bān Don river. This is—it goes without saying—the new route opened in 1804, and has been approximately enough delineated on the map, starting from *Pulao* [Pāk Lāu], passing by *Pennon* [P'hanom] on the eastern watershed, and continuing thence to *Pun-Pin* [P'hun-p'hin] and C'haiyā.

#### SUNDRY JOTTINGS ON JUNKCEYLON UP TO 1851.

From this time onward things seem to have settled down

1. We find him, in fact, officially gazetted as พระยาณรงค์เรืองฤทธิ์ (หนู), ผู้ว่าราชการ เมือง ถลาง.

2. 2nd ed.; London, 1830; vol. II, p. 458.

quite in Junkceylon, for notices of the island grow scarce and uneventful during the next fifty years, while I know of no new European account of the island having appeared in the interval. The last piece of information the report of 1841 copiously quoted above supplies us is, that some time prior to this date (perhaps between 1820-1830) a new governor, Buñ-khong, บุญ คง by name, was sent out—presumably from Bāngkok to Thalāng. He induced many people to settle about the western terminus of the tin road across the Peninsula, from Marūi onwards till Bāng Tōi, บาง เตย When P'hyā Krai-kōsā went out to collect the arrears of paddy-dues and field taxes (ทาง เข้า ค่า นา), the Thalāng governor aforesaid objected—though in vain—to such imposts being exacted from the people that had settled along the tin road, as these had been exempted from them since the time of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā.

The Bāngkok Annals of the Third Reign (1824-1851) contain but one single reference to Junkceylon, and that under the date of 1839. By royal decree of the 18th April of that year<sup>1</sup> P'hrayā Srī P'hip'hat had been charged with clearing away all opium from the Siānese provinces on the Malay Peninsula, as the introduction of that baneful drug into the Kingdom had been severely prohibited, and the then reigning sovereign was resolved to do his utmost in order to prevent his subjects from acquiring the habit of using it. Pursuant to that decree, towards the end of April Chamūn Rājāmāt and two other officials left Bāngkok as assistant commissioners and proceeded to the districts on the Malay Peninsula and Junkceylon Island. They succeeded in confiscating over 3700 chests of raw and 2 piculs of boiled opium which, being brought to Bāngkok, was all burnt by order of the King in the royal palace, in front of the Suddhaya-svarga throne hall.

#### NAI MĪ'S POETICAL ACCOUNT OF JUNKCEYLON ISLAND.

At about this period, Junkceylon island succeeded at last in enticing a bard to sing its attractions in the person of Nāi Mī,

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1. A translation of this decree has been reproduced in John Bowring's work, vol. II, pp. 368-377. It, however, originally appeared in print on April 27th from the A. B. C. F. M. Press, 9000 copies being issued; and was the first government document ever printed in Siam.

นาย มี, the favourite pupil of Sunthorn P'hū,—the prince of modern Siāinese melodramatic poets,—although considerably behind in excellence to his master.

Nāi Mī took the Buddhist orders of Sāmaṇera (Novice or Deacon) in the Jetavana (Wat P'hô) monastery in Bāngkok during the third reign (A. D. 1824-1851), and it was while thus ordained that he undertook, in the company of some relatives and laic friends, the trip to the island which he has recorded in rhyme. He unfortunately does not tell us anything about the date of this journey, except that it extended between the year of the Hog and that of the Tiger, which may correspond, respectively, either to 1839 and 1842, or 1851 and 1854. The former couple of dates is seemingly the correct one; for, after having returned, he composed a story in octonary verse titled *ตั้ง พระกรรม*, and this—his principal work though now almost forgotten,—is said to have been completed by him towards the end of the 3rd reign or the beginning of the 4th (*i. e.* about 1851) when he had already undergone the full ordination of a *Bhikkhu* (พระ) which cannot be conferred until after one has completed his twentieth year of age. Later on Nāi Mī left holy orders and ultimately got the post of Luāng Subhamātrā, หลวงสุภ มาตรา as a provincial petty official at C'haināth where he died about 1870.<sup>1</sup>

Nāi Mī's account of his pilgrimage to Junkceylon,—termed Nirās C'halāng, นิราศฉลุง, and dimly recalling Childe Harold's immensely superior lay utterances—is the only work of his likely to be handed down to posterity. Though not ranking very highly as a literary production, it nevertheless holds a distinguished place among the curiosities of Siāinese Nirās literature and forms interesting reading as evidenced by the several reprints it had.<sup>2</sup>

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1. One of his daughters P'hayom, พยอมน, by name, became minor wife to Chāu P'hyā Narāraṭn; she was born in the early sixties. Nāi Mī died aged about fifty-five years; so his life-span may be put down roughly between 1820-25 and 1870-75. He was a native of Thā Sūng,

ท่าสูง, at Khung Taphau, *คุ้งตะเภา*, a short distance up-stream from C'haināth.

2. It was first published by the Rev. S. J. Smith's press in about 1874. The edition made use of in these pages bears the date R. S. 113= A. D. 1894-5, and fills 40 pages small 8vo.

1. **The Journey.**—Nāi Mī travelled down the Gulf of Siam in a sailing boat, skirting its West coast, putting in at various places, and finally entering the Bān-Don river. Here the party procured paddle boats which enabled them to ascend that stream for another four days as far as Pāk Pphanom (ท่าพนม, or ปากพนม). Thence they journeyed overland to the West coast of the Malay Peninsula by the route we have described in the foregoing pages. Our author's account of this route is the only detailed one on record and forms a most interesting feature of his poem; hence we think worth the while to summarize it here, before passing on to his remarks on Junkceylon Island.

Having set out from Bān-Don in four paddle boats, Nāi Mī's party proceeded up stream to the place called Thā Khām, ท่าข้าม, the "Ford," so named from its being the point at which the Bān-Don river is crossed by the land route wending along the East coast of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> Here our author notices an awful whirlpool, and adds that though the place be called "The Crossing," no one is seen to avail himself of this convenience. Apparently the ford already had become impracticable by this period, or fallen into

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1. Mr. Leal, in his notes of travel in these parts in 1825, applies the name Thā-khām to the Bān-Don river which he describes as broad and rapid. He says: "...the Tha-kham, near the mouth of which is situated the town of Phoon-phin [P'hūn-p'hin, พูนพิณ]...A branch runs to the southward, to the town of Bandon, where it opens into the sea, and whence it is usually termed the Bandon river. The northern branch of the Tha-kham empties itself into the sea, at a place called Tha-thong [Thā-thong, ท่าทอง, now Kāñchanadīth; this is a mistake: it is the south-eastern branch that flows to Thā-thong]...The Tha-kham proceeds nearly across the Peninsula," etc. (See reprint in Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 394). The correct name of the river is Khlong Thā P'hnom, except for the branch flowing to Bān-Don where it is more generally known as แม่น้ำบ้านดอน, i. e. Bān-Don river. The crossing or ford of Thā-khām was availed of in 1779 by Phya Tāk, who crossed here with his army while marching to the conquest of Ligor whose forces he defeated immediately beyond at Thā-Māk, ท่าமாக (see Annals of Siam, p. 539). Hence, the river was still easily passable at this point in his time.

disuse. Next he turns his attention to a shrine on the right bank (evidently looking up-stream), where many crocodile skulls are offered votively to the tutelary deity of the spot, doubtless in order to beseech protection against the saurians which, the poet adds, teem in the river at this point. We have here an example of the votive crocodile shrines noticeable in many parts of Siām.<sup>1</sup>

1. The most famous and perhaps the most ancient withal of such shrines is that rising by the ruins of P'hrab Pradēng (เมืองพระประแดง), an ancient city that stood on the left bank of the Bāng-kok river, between the mouths of Khlong Tūi and Khlong P'hrab K'har-ang. This was formerly the only stronghold guarding the entrance to the Bāng-kok river, before Pāk-nām came into existence as a walled city (about A. D. 1550). It was abandoned not long afterwards, and though La Loubère (op. cit., p. 88) still mentions it in 1687 as "*Prepadem*, a small Government," Kaempfer but three years later marks its site on his map as "*Campus quondam urbis Pra-pradeng*." In 1771 its walls were demolished for bricks wherewith to build forts at Bāng-kok (Annals, p. 558). The old crocodile shrine is, however, still extant, and bears the name of ศาลเจ้าพระประแดง or ศาลเจ้าพ่อประแดง. A well-known folk-tale ascribes its foundation to a powerful crocodile from the upper reaches of the Bāngkok river who, having slain P'han-wang, the crocodile chief of the regions down stream, severed its head and offered it here as a propitiation to the tutelary deity of the place. This legend, first versified into the old poem titled Jūlavan, ชาลวัน, has been adapted for the stage and presented in a far more elegant vesture by King Buddha Löt-lā in his Krai Thong, ไกรทอง, now one of the most popular plays acted in Siām. The story is also known to the local Moñs, who locate its scene up river in the Bichitr, พิจิตร, district. A remark occurs in connection with the origin of crocodile worship in Krai Thong, fasc. I, p. 24, to the effect that from that period dates the custom of offering crocodile heads to the tutelary godlings of places infested by saurians,—evidently for the purpose of invoking their protection to wayfarers against their dreadful jaws :

“ตั้งแต่บัดนั้น มี กัน ทุกวัน นี้—หัว กุมภี จิ้ง ได้ ถวาย เจ้า—จิ้ง ดัง  
ศาล เทวราชเขน ลาด เตา—คือ ศาล เจ้า พ่อ ประแดง ตำแหน่ง มี”—  
Between Khlong Praveś-burīrom and Khlong Samrōng runs an ancient creek called Crocodile-head Creek,” คลอง ศีรษะ (or หัว) จระเข้,

Pulling further up river, the attention of the party is attracted to an abandoned Buddhist temple on the left hand side; among the débris of which stands a large statue of Buddha of about one wā's (2 metres) lap-width.<sup>1</sup> The place lies now desert, shrouded in thick jungle.

At the end of another two days' paddling up stream, a hamlet is reached called Nam-rob-kháu, <sup>น้ำรอบเขา</sup>, "Mountain-encircling Brook," the crowning feature of which is a large Buddhist monastery of rather untidy appearance, as both the uposatha ( chapel ) and vihāra ( idol-house ) have thatched roofs.

After that the stream winds through lonely jungle interspersed with towering damar trees : the river is still pretty deep,

already mentioned in the annals of Ayuddhyā under the date of 1498 (p. 32) where—at its intersection with the Praveś creek,—another crocodile shrine stood and probably still exists. Whence the name of Húa Takhe, หัวตะเข้ ( in official parlance, หัวตะเข้, ' Crocodile Head ' ) to the junction, and the appellation of the creek itself. Several other places in Siām bear the same name, doubtless for similar reasons.

Mr. Annandale noticed in the course of his visit to the Siānese provinces down the Malay Peninsula that, "In Lampam [P'hattalung] the brother of the raja has set up a little shrine in which crocodiles' skulls are exposed upon a platform. Fishermen who go out upon the lake in stormy weather are said to pray before these to the guardian spirit of the crocodiles. The raja's brother is a very old man, but he is a noted slayer of crocodiles and a great magician, having once possessed a magic knife of potency..." (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. XVI, 1900, p. 521). The author here thinks himself justified in drawing, from such practices, the inference that the Buddhism practised in P'hattalung "shows a curious tendency...towards animal worship." But as it will now be seen from the evidence we have brought forth above, the oblation of crocodile skulls to the *genius loci*, is a time-honoured custom spread all over the country—at any rate wherever the ravages of the saurians extend. It is part of the primeval religion of the land, and as such deserves further study at the hands of folklorists; hence it is to be hoped that these preliminary notes may serve to draw attention to this so far neglected subject.

1. The width of statues in a sitting posture is measured from knee to knee, and termed Nā Tak, <sup>น้ำตก</sup>, "lap-width." No use to look for such a class of expressions in lexicographical works purporting to teach "Siānese" to the unwary foreigner.



but very tortuous. Early next morning the landscape changes to a less wild country with dwellings along the river banks, and the party reaches Wat Thăm, <sup>วัดท่า</sup> the Cave Monastery, perched on a delightful spot at the foot of the hills. Our author visits both the temple and the cave near by, whose walls are covered with ancient fresco paintings in lively colours and gold, representing Jātakas, *i. e.* Buddhist Birth-stories. After a stroll round the mount P'hū-kháu Lúang, <sup>ภูหลวง</sup> the poet regains his boat at noon.

Wat Khong <sup>วัดทอง</sup>, the "Gong Monastery" is next passed where, our author pointedly remarks, no gong whatever is in evidence, but only the winding river and all-pervading jungle. Shallows are frequently met, over which the boat requires to be hauled. Whenever next reaching a deep pool, his companions are afraid of mermaids, and so betake themselves to the safer course of walking along the river banks, where they ramble about collecting herbs or shooting. They also do not mind taking frequent nips at flasks of spirituous liquor they have thoughtfully brought with them, which wicked acts make our sentimental traveller shudder and despair as to the future salvation of his mates.

At the end of a further  $1\frac{1}{2}$  days the party comes to a village lurking in the midst of thick jungle. It bears the honoured name of Bān P'hrah Sēng, <sup>บ้านพระแสง</sup>, the "Sacred Weapon," but the neighbourhood is haunted by tigers in plenty.

The journey is continued partly by paddling and poling, and at last Thā P'hanom, <sup>ท่าแพน</sup>, the "Hill Landing-place" is reached. This lies encased between hills at the confluent of two tributaries of the Thā P'hnom or Bān-Don river, and forms the terminus of the journey by water on this slope. The provisions and baggage are transferred on to pack-elephants, mounting which pachiderms our author and part of his companions continue their voyage by land, taking a south-western direction.

Thùng Khā, <sup>ทุ่งคา</sup>,<sup>2</sup> the "Lalang grass Clearing," forming the end of the first stage, is reached at night. Here, by the

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1. See pp. 64, 65, and 70 above.

2. *Vide supra*, p. 70.

margin of a brook (the right upper branch of the Thā P'hnom river) rises a śālā or resting shed. No grassy patch is to be seen, but only jungle; hence the toponym turns out to be a misnomer. On the right-hand side a shrine to the tutelary deity of the woods confronts the view, at which every traveller either way is expected to pay obeisance and make oblations of fowls and ducks so as to impetrate a prosperous journey and successful escape from danger, especially from the claws of the tigers that infest those parts. He who neglects such ceremonial is, of course, doomed to meet with accidents. Having dutifully gone through their worship the party accommodate themselves in the śālā, round which they keep a fire lit all the night through. Rhinoceros' roars are heard at various intervals issuing from the gloomy recesses of the jungle.

Next morning the party resume the journey, and after three days' marching across the woods come in sight of the "Swan-hen Mountain," Khāu Nāng Hóng, 山 鴨 湖.<sup>1</sup> Descending along the western slopes of this range, Junkceylon Island looms to view in the distance, and is reached after a while.

This last portion of the journey is dealt with in a mere few words and all mention of places met *en route* skipped over, so that the unwary reader gathers the impression that it was exceedingly short, and that the travellers got to the island on elephant's back, as no crossing over by boat is hinted at. It is not impossible that the party actually forded Pāk-P'hrah Strait which, as we have seen, in one place at least appears to be practicable to elephants (see pp. 47-48 above); but this is unlikely in view of the circuitous journey entailed for one proceeding to the island from Pāk-Lāu or P'hang-ngā. In conclusion, a few more particulars as to the route followed, would have been expected and welcome here.

Next follows the account of the author's sojourn in Junkceylon. This we take the liberty of subjoining *in extenso*, both because of its falling within the immediate scope of this paper, and of its affording at the same time an example as to the style of treatment of subjects usually followed in Siamese Nirās literature.

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1. *Vide supra*, p. 70.

## 2. Account of the author's stay and doings in Junkceylon<sup>1</sup>

—“We reached Junkceylon Island late in the afternoon, just before dark, and set about preparing our quarters *pêle-mêle* at Wat Thāi Nam-P'hang, วัดท้ายน้ำพัง, by the river bank. Here we dwelt in comfort and good health for many a month.

“I took frequent strolls sight-seeing about the city and environs, which both pale in comparison with a large town. The governor's house looks more dignified than the citizen's dwellings, and rises in a walled enclosure surrounded by a ditch and boasting of stately gates. Hills encompass the city both on the front and rear; the country is intersected by high mountain ranges, whose towering peaks seem to threaten the clouds and form a charming view. The river flows broad and deep through the midst of the town; junks from all parts of the world come hither to trade and ride at anchor downstream: their sails are seen in unbroken succession. They bring every kind of merchandise with which they keep the place abundantly supplied.

“In town well-being and gaiety are the rule. The merchant shops and bazaars on shore hustle and encroach upon one another. Tin is bartered for dollars, commodities are hawked all round. Siānese, Chinese, Malay, Java (mostly from Sumatra) piece-goods retailers heap up flowered chintzes in piles or in long rows; some sell coloured silk fabrics of different kinds.

“The islanders of C'halāng love to dress tidily and tastefully. Handsomely built damsels are in evidence; but, awe-struck, I dare not glance upon them. For I am deeply afraid of their subtle philtres and craftily concocted charms that so easily lead to perdition.<sup>2</sup> I prefer to refrain from all intercourse or meddling with them, as I think this would bring shame upon myself.

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1. Especially translated from the นิราศ จันท, pp. 32-40 of R. S. 113 (=A. D. 1894) edition.

2. Women from the southern provinces of Siām on the Malay Peninsula are reputed to be exceedingly skilful in the preparation of love philtres and charms: hence their occult craft is much feared by people from the capital and other northern districts.

Besides, of all the girls I have had occasion to see here, none can compare with the apex of my love. The local beauties chatter in the quaint jargon of country people<sup>1</sup>: and their argot is not always easily understood. The youngsters from the central provinces<sup>2</sup> that I have brought along with me managed to get on far better with them, with whom some of them became attached.

1. ชาว นอก, C'hāu Nok=people from the outlying provinces of the Kingdom: in this case meaning the inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. The line of demarcation between the C'hāu Nāi, ชาว ใน, or people from the Inner Provinces and the C'hāu Nok is formed, on the Malay Peninsula, by the Three Hundred Peaks or Sām-rôi Yot, สามร้อยยอด, range which virtually separates continental from peninsular Siām. As far as this line the language spoken is, practically that of the capital, *i. e.* Standard Siamese; whereas beyond that it abruptly changes into the southern dialect, distinguished from standard Siamese not only by an admixture of heterogeneous words (mostly a survival of aboriginal and primeval settler's idioms), but also by peculiar tonal inflexions which deserve the earnest attention of philologists. This is the Bhāṣā C'hāu Nok, ภาษาชาว นอก, typified in the 'Ligor dialect, which draws such roars of laughter when put in the mouth of actors and puppets at the theatricals and shadow plays of the Siamese capital and neighbouring districts.

2. ชาว ใน, C'hāu Nai=People from the Inner provinces, including the capital and surrounding districts of Siām proper, where standard Siamese is spoken. This term of Chāu Nai, or Thai Nai, ไทย ใน, has given rise to endless confusion at the hands of ill-informed writers on things Siamese. Dr. Leyden first made the acquaintance with the pitfall when he taunted M. Bouchard for having "*Tai-nay* [Thai-nai, ไทย ใน] instead of the *Tai-noë* [Thai-noi, ไทย น้อย] of La Loubère, which signifies little Siamese; whereas *Tai-nay* cannot possibly signify little Siamese, but only chief Siamese; the true meaning of *nay* being chief or head." ("On the Languages and Lit. of the Indo-Chinese Nations," repr. in "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. I, p. 141). Of course, Dr. Leyden was unaware that the correct prototype of *Thai-nay* is Thai-nai, ไทย ใน, meaning "Inner Siamese"; and not Thai-nāi, ไทย นาย, an expression that not only

C'halāng women are, in fact, exceedingly clever talkers: they excel in the art of charming the ear and netting partners. Once they make love to a lad, it is done with him: he is inextricably inveigled. Such is the fate that overtook many youngsters from the central provinces. As to myself, however, I kept faithful to my darling—just in the same way as one who having embraced [the noble doctrines of] Buddhism clings fast to them, and does not care any further for [absurd] Brahmanic tenets.<sup>1</sup>

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never existed, but that carries no sense. In vain Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low tried to put things right in the introduction to his grammar ( "A Grammar of the T'hai, or Siamese Language" ; Calcutta, 1828) where (p. 7) he drew a line of distinction between the expressions Thai Noi, ไทยน้อย, or Little Thai, Lesser Siām; and Thai Nai, ไทยใน, Inner Thai, Central Siām. The muddle continued, as a matter of course, kept in full swing by those writers of books on Siām who—and they are the majority—inno-cent of first-hand acquired knowledge of the country,—perpetrate patch-work which is a mere dish-clout of the effusions of their predecessors. Thus it comes to pass that in full 1905, writers are still found who—though having earned distinction in other fields—tell us, like, *e. g.*, Mr. Archibald Little in his latest book "The Far East," that: "The early Siamese were more particularly distinguished as the *Thai Noi* or 'Inside Free' [*sic*], in contrast with the Shan who were known as the *Thai Yai* or 'Outside Free' [*sic*] (Chinese, *Wai* and *Nai*)."—It goes without saying that Noi means as much 'Inside' as Yai means 'Outside.' The correct terms are Nai, ไทย= 'Inner,' Chinese *Nai*, meaning the C'hāu Nai or people from the Inner Provinces (Central Siām); and Nok, นอก= 'Outer,' Chinese *Wai*, meaning the C'hāu Nok, or people from the Outer Provinces (specifically, the Malay Peninsula). Thai Noi, ไทยน้อย, 'Lesser Thai' are the minor branch of the Thai nation represented to this day by the Siānese and including both Thai-nai and Thai-nok or C'hāu-nai and C'hāu-nok; whereas the Thai Yai, 'Greater Thai,' are the major branch, represented to this day by the so-called Shāns (correctly Siāms or Siānese) of Burma. But it is perhaps useless to correct mistakes like the above, as contemporary amateurish writers of books and articles on Siām—who never read, as a rule, scholarly publications but only antiquated and superficial clap-trap,—will always continue undaunted to foist *rechauffé* yarns upon a too benevolent public.

1. *I. e.* one whose heart has been smitten with a refined woman from the central provinces, does not care for the agrestic attractions of rural beauties.

“ I stayed at Junkceylon overyear, without any incident, firm in self-denial and abstinence like the Buddha when he overcame the hosts of Māra [ the demons of temptation ]. I bore on with a sorrowful, anxious heart, from the 2nd month of the year of the Hog until the year of the Tiger [*i. e.*, presumably, from December 1839 to April 1842]. My companions, seeing me so deeply sunk in gloom, sought to procure me some distraction by a visit to the sea coast.

3.—Excursion to the Sacred Foot-print.—“ It is related that an impression of the Sacred Foot exists on the wide sandy beach, but the journey thereto is rather long. Nevertheless I longed to pay my respects to it; and accordingly we left in pursuance of our hearts’ desire, taking the track wending towards the west.<sup>1</sup> We had to make our way through forests of lofty trees, to ford rivulets and cross pools in the very midst of the forest. At night we rested in the wilderness. After two days’ journey we came to an open stretch of grass and paddy fields irrigated by water-courses. The track skirts the edge of a vast lake looking like a miniature sea and teeming both with crocodiles and many kinds of fish. Lotuses stud the water expanse with their blossoms of varied hues: white, blue, yellow, red, and green. The lovely sight filled me with delight and admiration, and I amused myself in pointing them out to my companions as I tramped along. Noisy gusts of wind raised and whirled about clouds of dust. The cart-trail winds through a perfectly even plain; only fan palms in close array limit the view.

“ After proceeding for a while we came to a hamlet. It rises on the site of an ancient but now abandoned town, left in ruins by the Burmese. It is now a heap of débris shrouded in jungle. Only a few widely scattered habitations peep out of the foliage.

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1. The real direction taken must have been about south-west or south, unless the party took the track leading to the west coast of the island viâ Bān C’hāi-thale, ဝံသာမိတမြို့, and then proceeded to the southern extremity of the island by the track running along the west coast; which seems unlikely. The probability is that the route followed was at first about that of the road now leading to P’hūket, and then the trail branching thence to C’halong Bay and continuing along the sea-shore till the southern extremity of the island.

The people are thriving and cheerful : they cultivate orchards and paddy fields, plant various kinds of yams and vegetables, large pumpkins, cucumbers and watermelons sweet, sugar cane and sugars palms, as well as orange-trees bearing excellent fruits. I gazed on all these things with deep interest while proceeding.<sup>1</sup>

“ Beyond the village I came upon the sea-shore, and walked along the beach over the sand banks. I contemplated meanwhile the majestic expanse : it was deep and merrily noisy, with its foaming surges relentlessly breaking on the shore, so vehemently as to cause the sandbanks, the rocks, and the land all round to quake. I listened to the mighty roar of the surf which made my heart shudder with awe. The ocean stretches before the view boundless and fathomless, and teems with aquatic animals of every kind. Some deftly pop up and plunge down again with clamorous splashes. Crocodiles, Herās,<sup>2</sup> spring up side by side in flocks out of the billows. Water snakes and mermaids dart forth, in a swinging zig-zag gait, to disport themselves with their mates or swim past by

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1. I presume it is here a question of the partly cultivated plain round C'halong Bay (Khelung of our exhilarating cartographers), stretching from the banks of Mūdong creek (คดอง มุดง) to C'halong village (บ้านคดอง) and further to the southwest. The city destroyed by the Burmese rose probably on or about the site of the present C'halong village by the side of Kblong Rōng-sóng (คดอง แร่ง ส่อง). This part of the island is famed for its water melons, and the late C. W. Kynnersley, in the course of his last visit he paid to the place in 1903, remarks of Kathū (กะทู้<sup>2</sup> ? misprinted *Naito* in his Notes), a thriving mining village not far northward from C'halong Bay, that “ *Naito* is famous for its water melons which are sent to Penang ” ( “ Notes of Visits to Puket,” etc., in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R. A. S.*, No. 42, Jan. 1905, p. 9).

2. Herā, เพร่า, is a web-footed water lizard, smaller in size than the water monitor, but bigger than the terrestrial variety of the same (*Taramus*.)

close pairs in unbroken procession. Crabs, shrimps, prawns, and *Makaras* (dragons) wander about wagging their tails among the waves.<sup>1</sup>

“By the edge of the beach stretch smooth, flat banks of pure, crystalline sand; on the right hand side runs a fringe of *Casuarina* trees. Intermingled with the gravel and sand of the shore are shells of divers brilliant hues, blended in the most curious manner. One sees cowries of various sizes, white, yellow and of other tinges strewn about in hundreds of millions; many of them are quaint and lovely to behold in their kaleidoscopic wealth of colours. Some are of a bright red like sapan-wood dye; some black, and others speckled, or streaked with beautifully delineated veins; some are of a vivid yellow like sandal-wood; all charming and worthy of admiration. Nor are there wanting Sankha (chank) shells of the much prized variety whose whorls wind rightwise.<sup>2</sup> There is, in short, a superabundance of magnificent things, not least among which are brilliant-white oyster shells treasuring globular pearls. In these waters ambergris is also to be found. Tossed by the waves it is cast ashore up to the top of the broad beach, and while drying it exhales a foul carrion-like stench. But when dried and freed from all impurity it acquires an agreeable perfume, besides turning into a golden yellow resembling amber in appearance.<sup>3</sup>

1. We may remark, while here engaged on zoological matters, that Junkceylon Island is the acknowledged birth-place of three varieties of terrestrial decapods or fresh water crustaceans, which are:

1. *Potamonautus limula* (Hilgendorf).
2. *Parathelphusa brevicarinata* (Hilgendorf).
3. „ *salangensis* (Ortmann).

But there must be other new species, whether of animals or plants. If we except Dr. Koenig's researches—which should deserve publication—the fauna and flora of the island still remain to be investigated. Here is, no doubt, a promising field for future naturalists.

2. This is the sacred shell used in Brahmanical water-sprinkling ceremonies, and called หอยสังข์ ทักขินาวฏ the 'Destorse Chank shell.'

3. Here we have a further confirmation of the presence of ambergris about the southern shores of the island, noticed in European accounts of the preceding three centuries. See above, pp. 22 (under date 1592) and 24-25 (d. 1681-85).



"I kept on glancing with interest at all these curiosities while strolling about along the middle of the beach or following the sinuosities of the sea-margin; but felt deeply sad. At the sight of the pebbles and sand glittering like crystal and gold, my thoughts flew to my darling and my heart pained to break. Oh! if my sparkling jewel, splendour and glory of my eyes, had come along with me, how I would delight in pointing out to her the endless charms of the sea (and its shores)! Alas! there is no end of regret at being severed so far apart; when will the time come that I shall be able to return and again behold her lovely form? The ocean stretches before me like an immense wilderness: yea, just like my breast thou art lonely and sad, oh sea!

"Turning my looks landwards of the sandy beach I notice an unbroken fringe of screw-pines whose corymb-clustered blossoms breathe a sweet fragrance. As the sun declines, the wind lulls, the winged tribes set achirping, the screw-pines exhale their perfumed effluvia, of which I am so fond; while a lovely breeze whispers in soft breaths, and the already half-screened sun finally disappears beyond their velarium.

"As to myself, I keep wandering along the right-hand side of the beach without prefixed direction (or purpose), and then wend my steps along the water's edge, straggling ever farther and farther from the inhabited places. On the left the ocean stretches boundless; on the right it's mostly a succession of *Casuarina* trees, tall and superb to behold, whose thick foliage affords shelter from the sun-beams, while the bunches of fruit with which they are laden form a lovely sight. One notices besides in the forest fine types of *Mimusops*, *Murraya exotica*, *Genipa*, *Murraya paniculata*, *Crataeva*, C'humsēng (ขมุสแซง),<sup>1</sup> Chūang (จาง),<sup>2</sup> Chēng (แฉง),<sup>3</sup> Marit (มฤต),<sup>4</sup> Eagle-wood, *Averrhoa bilimbi*, *Aglaiu Roxburghiana*,

1. Hitherto unidentified; it is employed in Brahmanical rites.

2, 3. I have not yet had an opportunity to identify these: they produce scented wood and presumably belong to the *Aquilaria* or to the *Santalum* group. Either of them may be, however, *Wikstroemia* *fragrans*, or *C. fragrantissima*.

4. Unidentified. This tree yields a black and beautifully veined hard-wood, much used in the manufacture of local betel boxes and other knick-knacks. Its name may or may not derive from that of the Mergui district.

*Elaeis Guineensis* palm, Gum-Kino trees, Kananga, bastard sandal trees,<sup>1</sup> Kôṭ Sô (โกฏ สอ),<sup>2</sup> gall-nut trees,<sup>3</sup> saffron,<sup>4</sup> white sandal, unscented white sandal,<sup>5</sup> *Asafoetida*, *Bauhinia scandens*, Leb-mü Nāng (เล็บ มื้อ นาง),<sup>6</sup> *Anamirta cocculus*, Incense pines,<sup>7</sup> *Mantisia saltatoria*, several kinds of zinziberaceae;<sup>8</sup> and, in short, all sorts of medicinal plants. The flowering trees and shrubs are covered with a wealth of blossoms, and the feathered tribes flock in to peck at them, or flutter askance out of sight.

“There are bright-red Loris looking as if besmeared with vermilion ; peacocks strutting about the sandy beach; cockatoos<sup>9</sup>

1. กระดำ ภา, not identified.

2. See above, p. 39.

3. ดมอ ไทย = *Antidesma paniculata* ? ; if not, a *Terminalia*.

4. One must not take such glowing lists of natural wonders *literatim*, for oriental poets, and no less so the Siamese ones, allow their fancy far more play than European bards dare to. More particularly in the sections termed “C’hom nok, c’hom mai,” ชม นก ชม ไม, practically, “Contemplation of the natural beauties,” they present pictures of the fauna and flora that considerably outdistance the real work of nature. They would sing of pea-fowls perching on the top of trees within a stone’s throw of Bāngkok, or of whales at the Mū-nam bar, and of the most wonderful trees in a miry plain, quite unconcerned whether the reader takes them to task or not. But he does not, as a matter of course, for he is well aware that all this is mere conventionalism and that the poet would be taunted with lack of vein and imagery and his lays pronounced dry-as-dust twaddle were he not to do so.

5. จันทักนา, unidentified. *Aquilaria hirta* ?

6. A creeper, unidentified.

7. กายาน, seemingly not meant here for benjoin which is so designated and does not, of course, grow at such a latitude, though present not far lower down on the Sumatran coast and on the southern extreme of the Peninsula.

8. ว่าน กระสือ, ไพศ, the last of which, a bulbous plant, is extensively employed in the preparation of a tincture for medicinal purposes.

9. The Loris or Nūri of the scarlet variety is indigenous of New Guinea and the Moluccas; the cockatoos come also from the Archipelago, and their presence in Junkceylon is due to a wild flight...of the imagination of our poet.

and kingfishers leisurely roosted with drooping wings, long-legged plovers walking with a swinging gait, Ching-chô birds<sup>1</sup> alighting on the branches of Vachellia trees or flying out of sight, herons perched side by side in rows on the Casuarinas; brown owls spying into the dark recesses of the shrubbery, and green parakeets resting themselves near by. The winged hosts saunter, hop along; swing and turn about; flutter or hover through the air. Some roost drowsy and motionless on the branches of Hïeng trees,<sup>2</sup> others blessed with female companions keep closely pressed to them absorbed in tender flirtations, or pipe love-strains in the style of feathered tribes; while others still, missing their fair mates, look as mournful as me. Alas! it is a sad, terrible lot to be severed from one's beloved! So I sigh and groan as I proceed.

"The maker of day has plunged into the ocean's bosom; the moon just rising begins to unfold her soft radiance and brightens up the watery expanse and the atmosphere: one hears nothing but the roar of the tossing billows. I continue my journey through the night and see only quadrupeds coming down to frolic on the sea-shore: big hares, wild cattle, deer, wild boars, honey bears, jackals, and stately wild elephants. Their presence strikes me with terror, and shuddering I beseech the protection of the Holy Foot-print on my head. Thus I proceed without incident until the sun re-appears to shine upon the world.

4. **The P'hrah-Bat.**—"At 7 A. M. I reached the sacred Foot-print which lies in the middle of the sandy beach, near the foot of the cliffs. I was now brimming with delight, and all anxiety had suddenly vanished from me. I uplifted my hands in respectful salutation to the lotus-emblazoned foot, and lit incense sticks and tapers which, together with flowers, I offered in worship. Having then poured scented water to wash the holy emblem, I knelt, drew

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1. จิ้งจอก There must be a bird so called, for the context plainly shows that it cannot be here a question of a kangaroo, also known by this name.

2. ไม้เหียง, unidentified. It is a large forest tree with hardwood, which is sawn into planks and employed in carpentry.

near it by walking on my knees, and finally prostrated myself before it, feeling every bit as if I actually were in the presence of the glorious Teacher and Saviour of the World himself. Reverently I stroked all over it, feeling with the hand every symbol engraved thereupon, and carefully scrutinizing each of them. The 108 auspicious marks stood then perfectly distinct to me: the continents of the earth, the abodes of Brahma angels and of Indra, all complete. I beheld represented therein the mountain ranges surrounding the cosmos, the golden mansions of deities, the tiers of heaven, the majestic peaks of Meru towering immense; with the sun, moon, and other planets. I also noticed the four rivers, the Siddhanta stream; and Nāgas (serpent-godlings), human beings, Garuḍas, Sūras, Rākṣasas, the Wheel of the Law with its gem-like concentric rings; bows and arrows, birds, Kinnaras, Vijjadharas, maned lions, tigers, elephants, deer and sambur. Everything is portrayed there to a nicety, is skilfully and elegantly delineated; there seems to be an endless, an incalculable number of emblems. The more one gazes upon the holy vestige, the more he finds it magnificent and dazzling, for the crystalline sand that bespangles it causes it to glitter even so glowingly. The specks of transparent sand shine like jewelled lotus flowers, as they cast round the refracted light in radiations of various hues; blue, white and yellow. The surface of the holy footprint thus stands forth in bold relief and its splendour is enhanced many fold by the sparkling crystals, as if it were coated over with burnished gold. All round and away from its margin the sandy beach stretches delightfully level and smooth as if paved with crystal. Enwrapped in all this glory of radiance the cosy spot looks indeed charming. Each and all of my companions prostrated themselves side by side, their heads touching the ground, in adoration.

When the sun had set beyond the horizon, we resolved to hold an *impromptu* festival in honour of the sacred foot-print. Some started dancing in the best style they could boast, the dear fellows, at the sound of tunes creditably played with the natural wind instruments of our mouths; others sat down reciting Sep'hā stories<sup>1</sup> to the accompaniment of clapped sticks;

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1. เสก, the famous and most popular story of the adventures of Khún C'hāng and Khun Phên (ขุนช้าง, ขุนแผน). Besides being played

in short, every one displayed his talents to the best possible advantage. The whole shore re-echoed with our merry clamour.

Delighted with having thus paid our respects to the holy vestige we tarried a few more days, making at night our bed of the sand banks. Pleasant excursions were organized in the daytime by various groups to divers places roundabout. Some bent on herborizing went forth to collect medicinal plants and tuberous roots of signal efficacy; while others started to fossik for quick-silver of supernatural virtues, for antimony, for magnetic iron, and other kinds of ores.<sup>1</sup> Those who were the fortunate possessors of mystic formularies, for the search of treasures, precious metals etc.<sup>2</sup> set out to carry their directions into practice, and, forsaking the beaten paths, plunged into the recesses of the jungle. Others betook themselves to lay traps and snares, catching birds, mice, boar cubs, or procupines, which they amused themselves to tame and rear up as pets according to their bent. Some again descended to disport themselves into the sea. Upon noticing some big sea-turtle crawling up towards the beach, they would instantly seize it and ride on its back for play just as they would do with an elephant, urging the poor

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on the stage, it is not unoften recited on festive occasions with accompaniment and interludes of clappers made of a hard black wood. See for more particulars, my book "*Cūḷākantamaṅgala*, or The Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siam"; Bangkok, 1895, p. 54.

1. As regards the presence of magnetite on the island we have the testimony of La Loubère, see p. 26 above. With respect to antimony and quick-silver although there is no evidence to hand, it is not unlikely that these metals are also to be found there in small quantities, as well as gold the presence of which we have seen noticed by Gervaise (*supra*, p. 25). In conclusion, there can be no doubt that the island is a most interesting and varied minery field. As Ceylon is—though for different reasons—the pearl of British insular possessions in the East, so is Junkceylon the most priceless one of the Siānese Crown.

2. Such formularies are called *Lāi-théng*, ලායි ටෙඟ්, a term—of course unknown to our lexicographers,—which is applied to any old MS. document containing directions for finding hidden treasure, alchemical formulas, recipes for the cure of disease as well as for the prolongation of life, hints as to methods of discovering precious metals, etc. It may be translated "*Esoteric Direction*," or "*Occult prescription*," It goes without saying that such old documents—mostly compiled by alchemy-dabbling monks or professional occultists and alchemists,—are much in request and eagerly sought for.

beast to shape a course landwards. But the refractory chelonian would instead turn tail and make for the sea carrying them down into deep water. Then there would burst forth shouts and laughs to paralyze any other action, and the happy lads finding themselves submerged would at last regain control over themselves and gaily return ashore. As to myself, however, I continued in a sad, mournful spirit, for nothing could compensate me for the absence of my beloved one. When our visit to the Holy Foot-print came to an end, we reverently took leave of the sacred vestige and set about to return.

5. *L'Envoi*—"Thus ends the story of my long period of wandering away from my darling, for whom I have written it in order both to make known to her my sentiments and to try my vein. Though a pupil of Sunthorn [the famous poet] I am naught yet but a beginner; so may my raving passion for my beloved arouse in the public sympathy with my sufferings. *Finis*."—

It will now be seen that only a very limited meed of useful information can be expected from a composition which, like this, is written in the style of a *Nirās*, *i. e.* with a view more of pouring forth one's love refrain for the respective sweetheart and piping the *Odyssey* of one's real or imaginary sufferings while travelling away from her, than of supplying a gazetteer of the places visited *en route*. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there is, on the whole, a substratum of truth and reality underlying the poet's fantastic effusions, which forms the medium and occasion of transmission for many interesting details that might otherwise remain ignored to history or to scientific literature. It will have been noticed that on more than one point our author either confirms or supplements evidence we have drawn from other sources, especially as regards the productions of Junkceylon island, etc., while he gives us a valuable account of the overland route across the Malay Peninsula. At all events it may perhaps be agreed that the above, from its being the only poetical essay written on C'halāng, is of sufficient curiosity to justify its translation in a paper which, like this, is solely devoted to that interesting island.



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45. 11. 1979

## APPENDIX.

I.—RELATION WRITTEN BY JUNCÉYLOON OFFICIALS IN 1841.

เรื่อง พงษาวตาร เมือง ถลาง, เมือง ตกั่ว ป่า,  
เมือง ตกั่วทุ่ง, เมืองหง่าง, เมือง ญเก็ก.

ข้าพเจ้า นายฤกษ์ บุตร เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร์ ราชฯ จาง วาง ; นาย  
ศึก, นาย เลื้อย, บุตร พระยา ถลาง ; หลวงเพ็ชรตรี ศรี สมุท วิสุทธิ ส่ง  
คราม ปลัด เมือง ถลาง; ขอ เต่า เรื่อง รวบรวม ตาม ผู้ เฒ่า เต่า มา แต่ ก่อน  
แต่ ได้ รู้ ได้ เห็น เอง ว่า

[ ถลาง ] ๑ เมือง ถลาง แต่ก่อน จอม ร้าง บ้าน ตะเคียน เปน  
เจ้า เมือง ; เมื่อย จอม ร้าง เปน แยก เมือง ไทร, ชื่อ หม้า เลี้ย ลูก มหุม  
เฒ่า ( แต่ ก่อน ผัว ตาย เปน หม้าย อยู่ มหุม น้อง เบ้า จะ เอา เงิน  
มรดก ห้า พัน เศษ หม้า เลี้ย ขัดใจ ไม่ อยู่ เมือง ไทร มา อยู่ เมือง ถลาง  
ได้ กับ จอม ร้าง เปน ผัว ) มี บุตร ชาย ๒, หญิง ๓, รวม ๕ ; หญิง ชื่อ  
จันทร์ เปน ท้าวเทพ กระษัตรี, หญิง น้อง ถัด มา ชื่อ มุก เปน ท้าว ศรี  
สุนทร ครั้ง ต้น แผ่นดินบรมพระอัยกา จิราช, น้องหญิง คน หนึ่ง ชื่อ หม้า,  
น้อง ชาย ชื่อ อาจ เปน พระยา ถลาง, น้อง ชาย คน หนึ่ง ชื่อ เรือง เปน ที่  
พระยา ขุน นาง เมือง ถลาง นั้น จอม เฒ่า อยู่ บ้าน ตอน, จอม ร้าง  
อยู่ บ้าน ตะเคียน; จอม เฒ่า กับ จอม ร้าง เปน ลูก พ่อ เดียว กัน คน  
ละ มารดา; ลูก จอม เฒ่า อยู่ บ้าน ตอน ได้ เปน พระยา ถลาง เจียด  
ทอง, แม่ ชื่อ เขียง; พระยา ปลัด แม่ ชื่อ คำ ตัว ชื่อ เรือง; เดิม แต่  
ก่อน บ้าน ตอน กับ บ้าน ตะเคียน สามัคคี กัน ดี มี ชื่อ เลียง ลับ ตะ



กุด วงษ์ เปน เจ้าเมือง สืบ มา; ฝ่าย บ้าน ลิพอน จอม ไชย สุรินทร กิต  
 มิ ชอบ จะ ตั้ง ตัณฑ์ใหญ่, มี ครา ออก มาให้ จับ จอมสุรินทร ฆ่าเสีย  
 เปน โทษ ขบถ ต่อ แผ่นดิน สืบ เมา ผู้ดี ลง เมืองกลาง ว่า เมืองกลาง  
 ( คงแข็ง ) ชาว กรุง ออก มา เปน เจ้า เมือง; พระยากลาง ( อาจ )  
 เปน เจ้าเมือง ขึ้น ว่า, มี ผู้ร้าย ยัง พระยากลาง ( อาจ ) ตาย; เมือง  
 ก็ว่าง อยู่ ไ้ แห่ไพร มา เปน เจ้าเมือง อยู่ หนึ่ง หนึ่ง พวก ชาวเมือง  
 กลาง คิด รบ แห่ , ตั้ง ค่าย ที่ [ บ้าน ] ไม้ขาว , ปากสาคร, ตั้ร, จึง  
 ตั้ง ตัณฑ์; พอ พระยา พิมล เปน พระยา กระ อยู่ ณเมือง สมพร  
 ได้ กับ ท้าวเทพ กระษัตรี ๆ นั้น เมื่อ ลาว เปน เมีย หม่อมศรี ภักดี ๆ  
 เด่า ก็ เปน ชาว ตกวัง ถูก คุณชี บุญเกิด ๆ เดิม อยู่ ตกวัง, ได้  
 กับ จอม นาย กอง ๆ เปน ชาว นคร อยู่ บ้านใหญ่ ถายสาย ออก มา  
 เปน สำเร็จ ราชการ [ ม.กลาง ? ]; ได้ กับ คุณชี บุญเกิดนั้น มี บุตร  
 ชาย ๓, หญิง ๓, ชาย ชื่อ หม่อมศรี ภักดี มี เมียน เมืองกลาง, หญิง  
 คน หนึ่ง ชื่อ บุญคง ได้ กับ พระประสิทธิ์ สงคราม; หม่อมศรี ภักดี นั้น  
 ได้ กับ ท้าวเทพ กระษัตรี มี ลูก สอง คน, หญิง ชื่อ แม่ปราง; ชายชื่อ  
 เทียน เปน พระยากลาง ( หืด )

ท้าวเทพ กระษัตรี เปน หม้าย แล้ว ได้ กับ พระยาพิมล; มี ลูก  
 หญิง ใหญ่ ชื่อ แม่ทอง พา ไป ถวาย เปน มารดา เจ้าครอก อุบล; ลูก  
 ถัด มา ชาย ๒ คน ชื่อ จ้อย, เนียม; ชื่อ จ้อย เปน พระยกรบัตร์, คือ  
 ชื่อ เนียม เปน มหาเดก ครั้ง ต้น แผ่นดิน, ลูกหญิง ชื่อ แม่กิม, แม่เมือง  
 ครั้น พระยา พิมล ต้อง ความ ไป อยู่ เมืองพัทลุง, พระยากลาง  
 ( เทียน ) ลูกเลี้ยง พ้อง; ที่ กลาง ได้ พระยากลาง เจียดทอง ๆ ต้อง

โทษ เข้า ไป ตาย ใน กรุง ; ที่ ถวาย ได้ พระยาถาง หืด ( เทียน )  
 เปนเจ้าเมือง; ที่ ปลัด ได้ นายเวียงเปน พระยาปลัด; ที่ ยกระบัตร ได้ พระยา  
 ถาง ( ชู ) เปน พระยา ยกระบัตร; ครั้ง นั้น เมืองถาง เจ้าเมือง ปลัด  
 ยกระบัตร ก็ เปน พระยา

[ ภูเก็จ ] ๑ ฝ่าย เมือง ภูเก็จ หดง ภูเก็จ (ข้างคด) เปน เจ้าเมือง;  
 แล้ว ไต่ นาย ศรี ชาย นาย เวณ, เปน พระ ภูเก็จ; แล้ว ให้ มา บิดา หดง  
 ปลัด ( อุก )

เขตร แดน เมือง ภูเก็จ กับ เมือง ถาง เอา บางกุ, คด ชื่อ ตาม  
 คดอง น้ำ เปน แดน; ว่า เมือง ภูเก็จ เดิม เปน เมือง ใหญ่ กลับ มา ขึ้น  
 เมือง ถาง, เขตร แดน ฝ่าย ทวัน ตก หิน ชาย พลาย ตโหนด, ฝ่าย  
 ทวัน ออก เกาะ มพร้าว, อ่าว กับ แกะ แหตมหัว, แหตม ม้า ผัว, เปน  
 แขวง เมือง ภูเก็จ คดออก ไป เกาะ ยาว, เกาะ อลัง, เกาะ กล้วย, แหตม  
 ย้าน, แรด, นาคา, เกาะระวะ, เกาะป้าโย้ย, เกาะ ชง่า, อ่าว ภารามา,  
 เกาะ ย้า หนัด, เกาะ กูตา, คดออก; มา แหตม คอ เชน, ปาก ก็ หยิก,  
 แหตม ปาก พระยา; ข้าม ปาก น้ำ หมอน, ปาก พระ คน ละ ฟาก, ฝ่าย  
 เมือง ตกัว หุ่น

[ ตกัว หุ่น ] ๑ ฝ่าย เมือง ตกัว หุ่น เล่า ปาก พระ ว่า เจ้า พระยา  
 อินทรวงษา ตั้ง วัง, ปราบ ก็ ปลุก วัง ขึ้น, ยัง ไม่ สำเร็จ; รู้ ว่า จับ  
 แผ่น ดิน ตก, เจ้า พระยา อินทรวงษา ก็ ตาย; โปรด ให้ ข้าราชการ  
 ออก มา, เจ้า พระยา แด พระยา ออก มา ตั้ง อยู่ ปาก พระ หลาย นาย;  
 เจ้า พระ ยา ชื่อ ราชนิกุล, พระยา ธรรม ไตร โลก, พระยา พิพิช โภไคย;  
 พระยา ธรรมไตร โลก ได้ รับ พม่า ที่ ปาก พระ, พระยา ธรรมไตร โลก  
 ตาย; พระยา พิพิช โภไคย หัน มา ทาง เมือง พังงา, จึง เรียก ชื่อ ว่า

ตำนาน พระยา พิพิช

เมือง ตกั่ว ท่ง เขา คดอง ตะหงี เปน แตน, คดอง น้ำ ถ้ำ ท่า คด  
ซื่อ ซัน มา เปน ฝ่าย ตกั่ว ท่ง, ตกั่ว ป่า หา ถ้ำ ถอดม เกี้ยว ซ้อง  
กัน ไม่; เมือง ตกั่ว ท่ง เดิม หลวง เพ็ชร เปน เจ้า เมือง; ได้ มา พระ  
ตกั่ว ท่ง ( ซา หัก ); จอม พิทักษ์ พระ ตกั่ว ท่ง พ่อ พระ ปลัด แม่  
เมือง แม่ พระ วิเศษ ชื่อ ว่า พระ ตกั่ว ท่ง ( ถี ); แล้ว เมือง ตกั่วท่ง  
ได้ มา แก่ พระ ตกั่ว ท่ง ชื่อ ชุน คำ มารดา ชื่อ น้อย บิดา ชื่อ เหล็ก,  
ว่า อุก มอน [ลูกมอญ] ชาว กรุง; ครั้น พระ ตกั่ว ท่ง ตาย ลูก  
ชาย ชื่อ ถิน, เปน บิดา พระ ตกั่ว ท่ง ( ถอน ) ได้ ถิน เมือง อยู่  
มารดา ชื่อ แม่ ศรี อิน ยาย ชื่อ เรียว, ชาว แร่ ไม้ แขน; แม่ เรียว  
ได้ กับ จอม นาย กอง, มี ลูก ชื่อ อิน

เมือง ตกั่ว ท่ง เมือง ถดาง, คดอง ปาก พระ คน สะฟาก เปน แตน ราช

[ พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ] ๑ ถ้า พระ ราช ทรัพย์ เกิด ขึ้น เมือง ถดาง  
ไป [ ? ใช้ ] เมือง ส่ง ไป เมือง ตกั่ว ท่ง ๆ ส่ง ไป เมือง ตกั่ว ป่า, เปน  
อย่าง ธรรม เนียม ต่อ กัน มา ช้า นาน

เมื่อ ครั้ง เมือง ถดาง ยัง ไม่ เสีย แก่ พม่า; ตกั่วท่ง, ตกั่ว ป่า,  
ไชยา, ชุม พร, เสีย แก่ พม่า; ก็ บุค มัด ฝัก ขึ้น ขน มา ค้าง อยู่ ที่ เขา ศก;  
หลวง เพ็ชร หนู ( แสง ) ชาว นคร ตั้ง อยู่ บ้านเก่า สัมโธ คดอง พนม, ตั้ง  
กองไปบุก [ลูก] ขน เขาพระ ราช ทรัพย์ ที่ท่าเขา ศก; จน มีตราให้ ข้างหลวง  
ออก มา ขำระ หลวง เพชร หนู ( แสง ), คนตาม ถ้ำ คดองท่า พนม ก็อพยพ  
หนี ไป สัน ก็ เปน บ้างกร้าง ขึ้น

เมื่อ ครั้ง พระ ตกั่ว ท่ง บิดา พระ ตกั่วท่ง ( ถิน ) เปน เจ้า เมือง  
นั้น, มี ตรา โปรด ออก มา ให้ ไป ทำ ฝัก กระ บวน เมือง เทศ; จัด

บาบุดำ, บาบูขาว, ชาวเทศ อยู่ ณ เมือง ถาง, กับ นาย ลำภาน้อย;  
พอ หลวง พาคยวาทิ ซึ่ง ไป อยู่ เมือง ตรัง, กับ หลวง กลัง (เทศ) ชาว  
กรุง, ไป ทำ ได้ มา กับ เครื่อง ถม ยา ราชวดี; พระ ตกั่ว หุ่น ขุน เข้า  
ไป ถอง ตาม คลอง ทำ เขา ศก ถึง เชี่ยว ประ ตู หลง, น้ำ พระ ของ;  
เรือ พระ ตกั่ว หุ่น ถม ถง, เครื่อง ถม ยา ราชวดี หาย, หา ได้ เอา เข้า ไป  
ถวาย ไม่ ไร

[ ตะ กั่ว บ้า ] ๑ เมือง ตกั่ว บ้า จอม ราชดี เสดนา (แซก) เปน  
เจ้า เมือง; แล้ว ไต่ มา แก่ พระวิจิตร ( หุหนวก ) แล้ว ไต่ มา  
กับ หลวง ตกั่ว บ้า (จัน); แล้ว ไต่ มา หลวง ณรงค์ หลวง ตกั่ว บ้า เปน  
บุตร ท่าน พระยา ประ สทิธิ สงคราม จาง วา แล้ว เมือง ไต่ มา กับ  
พระยา ตกั่ว บ้า ( ม่วง ); พระยา ตกั่ว บ้า ( เกษ ), จัน ภา ไป ข่า  
ตาย; เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา บอก ขอ พระ อินทร รัชชา, กอง นอก  
เมือง ไชยา, เปน ที่ พระยา ตกั่ว บ้า; แล้ว เมือง มา แก่ พระยา ตกั่ว บ้า  
( ม่วง ) ๗ ตาย; เมือง ไต่ มา แก่ พระยา ตกั่ว บ้า ( อุ )

เรื่อง รวด ฝ่าย เมือง ตกั่ว หุ่น, เมือง ตกั่ว บ้า, ถาง, ภูเก็จ, ก็  
เล่า ได้ แต่ เพียง นี้ ไร

จะ เล่า เมื่อ ครั้ง ตัดทาง แด่ม้วย, ปากถาว, ทำ มะ เบน นั้น

เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา มี ครา ให้ หา เข้า ไป ณ กรุง เทพ ๑  
ว่า จะ ให้ เปน ที่ อัด มหา เสดนาบดี เมื่อ ครั้ง เจ้า พระยา กระธา โหม  
( ปลื ) ไป เสี้ย ทัพ ทวาย; เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา เข้า ไป ถึง กรุง  
เทพ ๑ แล้ว พระ เจ้า อยู่ หัก ทั้ง สอง พระ องค์ โปรด พระ ราชทาน  
เสื้อ ผ้า จะ เอา ไว้ ให้ อยู่ กรุง เทพ ๑; เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา ก็

เหิน ว่า อยู่ เมือง นอก ไค่ ศุข มาก,      จึง อั้น วอน เจ้า คุณ พด เทพ  
 บิดา พระยา บดินทร เดชา      ขอ ให้ กราบ ทูล พระ กรรณา คิต จะ ไม่ อยู่  
 ใน กรุง เทพฯ,      ว่า ตัว ชรา, เปน เสนาบดี ขึ้น เจ้า ชีวิตร เสด็จ  
 พระ ราช ดำเนิน ไป ถึง ไหน ตัว ก็ ตาม ไป ถึง นั้น      ก็ จะ มี ความ  
 ลำบาก;      จึง ทำ เรื่อง รว กราบ ทูล พระ กรรณา ว่า      จะ ออก มา  
 อยู่ เมือง นอก ตาม อย่าง เดิม;      จะ จัดแจง ทาง รับ ส่ง พระราช ทรมัย  
 เมือง พังงา, เมือง ถดาง, เมือง ตกั่ว หุ่น,      จะ ขน ไป ขึ้น เขา ศก ก็  
 กันดาร เสีย แก่ง เปน หลาย แห่ง,      พระ ราช ทรมัย สู้ญ หาย เปน  
 อันตราย เสีย หลาย ครั้ง มา แล้ว;      เหิน ว่า ทาง บก ระยะ ป่า เดิน มา ข้าง  
 แต่ สอง คั่น ไม่ สู้ กันดาร      ถึง ทำ พนม ต้อง คดออก ลง ไป ถึง พุนพิน,  
 คดออก ออก ไป ถึง พุม เรียง ที่ รับ ส่ง พระ ราช ทรมัย ไม่ สู้ กัน ดาร;  
 ขอ พระ ราชทาน ข้าง เกณฑ์ บรรทุก เมือง ถกร ๓๐ ข้าง,      เมือง ไชยา  
 ๓๐ ข้าง, รวม ๖๐ ข้าง;      ให้ หลวง พิพิชคชกัณฑ์ เปน นาย กองคุม ข้าง คอย  
 รับ ส่ง พระ ราช ทรมัย

พระ ราช ทาน ข้าง แต่ ที่ ปาก พนมปากถาว ได้ มา ตาม เรื่องราว  
 จำ พระยา สุรินทร ราชฯ ให้ กราบ ทูล พระกรรณา มี แจ้ง อยู่ ในท้องตรา  
 พระ ราชสีห์ นั้น แล้ว.

ฝ่าย ปากพนม ให้ ขุนทิพ ( สมนัด ); ขุนเพชร [ คีรี ]; ขุน  
 คีรี ส่งคราม ตาม คน ตั้ง อยู่; ฝ่าย มรุษ ปากถาว ตั้ง ให้ หลวงฤทธิ  
 รงค์ ส่งคราม เปน มิแก;<sup>1</sup> แต่ ที่ มรุษ ถึง ปากพนม ให้ กับ เจ้าพระยา  
 สุรินทร ราชฯ

1. Here is a curious word, มิ แก, Mi-kä, for a headman or superintendent; which may be either of Khmür or Thai (if not Malay or even

ฝ่าย เจ้าพระยา สุรินทร ราชา กลับ ออก มา ถึง บ้านเมือง แล้ว;  
จึง ตั้ง ให้ ชุนทิพ [สมบัติ] เปน หลวง รามพิไชย อยู่ ที่ ปากพนม ; ให้  
หลวง ราม พิไชย ตัด ทาง ตั้ง แต่ ปาก พนม ขึ้น มา ถึง เมือง พังงา; ให้  
หลวง ฤทธิรงค์ สังคราม ตั้ง เกณฑ์ ล้อม ผู้ คน ที่ มรุษ, ปากตา, ให้ คอย  
รับ ส่ง พระราชทรัพย์ ลง ไป, ให้ หลวง รามพิไชย คอย รับ อยู่ ที่  
ท่าพนม, แล้ว เจ้าพระยา สุรินทร ราชา ให้ ตั้ง ด่าน ที่ ดิน เขานางหงษ์  
ด่าน หนึ่ง, ด่าน ปากตาน [? กระดาน, ด่าน ], ด่านทุ่งคา, มรุษด่าน หนึ่ง,  
เปน ๕ ด่าน ทั้ง ปากพนม, แล้ว ทำ ทำเนียบ ไว้ ทุก ด่าน ตาม ระยะ  
ทาง แล้ว, ให้ ตั้ง เกณฑ์ ล้อม ผู้ คน ไว้ สำหรับ บัง กัน พระ ราช  
ทรัพย์ ทุก ด่าน

พระราช ทรัพย์ เมือง ตกั่วป่า เกิด ขึ้น ที่ ล่อง ลง มา ตาม คลอง ทาง  
ท่า เขาตึก; พระราชทรัพย์ เมือง พังงา, เมืองถดาง, เมืองตกั่วทุ่ง ขน ไป  
ค้าง อยู่ ที่ มรุษ กว๊า จะ ไ้ ข้าง ไป บรรทุก; กอง รับ ล่อง จัด ให้ หลวง  
นา เปน พระวิเศษ สังคราม จางวาง ด่าน ยาว; เอา ชุนเพชรศิริ, ชุนอินทร  
เปน ปลัดกอง, คู่มไพร ฝ่าย กอง รับ ล่อง ขึ้น มา รับ พระราชทรัพย์ ที่ พนม

แล้ว เจ้าพระยา สุรินทร ราชา แต่ง ให้ ชุน ศรี สมโภช เข้า ไป เฝ้า  
พณหัวเจ้าท่าน ผู้ ครอง เมือง นคร ศรีธรรมราช แต่ ก่อน ว่า ได้ แต่ง นาย  
ด่าน ที่ มรุษ ที่ ปาก พนม

เจ้าพระยา นคร ศรีธรรมราช มี ประ ศาสตร์ ตั้ง ว่า, ขย้าให้  
เจ้า พระ ยา สุรินทร ราชา ตั้ง หลวง ชุน หนึ่ง นาย หมวด นาย กอง เคย

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Burmese) origin. In Khmér we have similar ones, such as e. g. Mī-kār  
“Chief of works,” “Contractor”; Mī-koi, a “Custom-house official,” a  
“Superintendent of Customs;” while in Western Thai (Shān) Kē, แก่,  
(lit. “Old, Senior”) occurs with the meaning of a “Village Headman.”

พณ หัว เจ้า ท่าน จะ ตั้ง แต่ง ออก มา แต่ เมือง นคร เอง; อย่า ให้ เจ้าพระยา สุรินทร ราชา ตั้ง, นาน ไป ภาย หน้า ผู้ ไต จะ มา รัง เมือง นคร เมือง จะ ว่า เจ้า พระ ยา นคร กับ เจ้า พระ ยา สุรินทร ราชา เปน คน ชอบ พอ รัก ใคร่ กัน ทำให้ บ้าน เมือง ขึ้น เพื่อน กล้า กอดม กันอยู่

เจ้าพระยาสุรินทร ราชา ก็ บอก ไป ว่า อย่า ให้ พณ หัว เจ้า ท่าน ผู้ ครอง เมือง นคร ศรี ธรรม ราช ตั้ง ไป เถย, ท่าน จะ ตั้ง มา ไว้ ให้ รับ ให้ ส่ง พระ ราช ทรัพย์ เอง ตาม ได้ กราบ ทูล พระ ภูณ; ท่าน มรุษ, ท่าน พนม ก็ ได้ เปน สิทธิ เปน เติม มา คู่มุ แท้ บัด นี้

ครั้น ไพร่ต ให้ ท่าน พระยา ถาง ( บุญ คง ) ออก มา เปน ที่ พระยา ถาง ช้อง สุ่ม รวบ รวบรวม ผู้ คน ไว้; ได้ ตั้ง เปน ถิ่น ถาน บ้าน เรือน ถง ฝ่าย มรุษ ตลอดจน มา ถึง บาง เถย

ครั้ง ท่าน พระยา ไกร โภชา ออก มา ขำระ หาง เข้า คำ นา, พณ หัว เจ้า ท่าน ไพร่ต ให้ นาย ช่วย ออก มา ค่อ ว่า อย่า ให้ เรียก หาง เข้า คำ นา ที่ มรุษ ได้ มา แก่ เมือง ถาง, ท่าน พระยา ถาง ก็ ว่า พระ ราชทาน มา แก่ เจ้า พระยาสุรินทร ราชา สืบ ต่อ กัน มา อยู่ ณนี้ แล้ว; ครั้น ไม่ มี ตรา ไพร่ต ยก ออก มา ท่าน ก็ ไม่ สู้ ยอม ให้, หาง เข้า คำ นา ก็ ได้ เรียก สืบ กัน มา.

ฝ่าย พนม ดำ น้ำ ถ้ำ คดอง ตาม ดำ น้ำ ถ้ำ ท่า หนทาง ส่ง พระ ราช ทรัพย์ เปน สำหรับ เมือง พังงา; เมือง ถาง, เมือง พังงา นี้ เติม เปน เมือง ชว่ง แฉง ขึ้น เมือง ตกั่ว ป่า, เอา คดอง ถ้ำ ข้าง บุรพา ได้ กับ เมือง พังงา, ถ้ำ คดอง ตลอดจน ออก เขา สอง พี่น้อง, เอา เขา สอง พี่น้อง เปน แตน คน ตะ ฟาก ตลอดจน ออก ไป, ถึง พระ ธาร แก้ว, เกาะ ยาง,

เกาะ พิง กัน เปน แขวง เมือง พังงา; พระ ตกัว หุ่น ( ถิน ) ซึ่ง เปน  
พระ ตกัว หุ่น, เปน น้อง เขย พระยา ถาง ( บุญ คง ) ขอ เขา เขา  
รา ยา บั หัน, บู่ เทลา บ้า หัย, เกาะนม สาว ไป เปน ช่อ แขวง เมือง  
ตกัว หุ่น; พระยา ถาง ( บุญ คง ) เหน ว่า พระ ตกัว หุ่น เปน น้อง  
เขย ก็ ยอม ให้

ฝ่าย อุดร เมือง พังงา เขา เขม่า เหล็ก เปน แดน; เคียง อีสาน  
ก็ รา หุ่น, ถอง แพรก, เปน เขตแดน เมือง พังงา

เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชฯ ซึ่ง เปน ใหญ่ สำเร็จ ราช การ ณฑเขต  
หัว เมือง นี้, พระยา ประ สติธิ สงคราม ก็ เปน งาม งาม ทั้ง แปร หัว  
เมือง เหมือน กัน ชื่อ ว่า แปร หัว เมือง นี้ :

๑-เมือง ถาง, ๒-เมือง ภูเก็ต, ๓-เมือง ตกัว บ้า, ๔-เมือง ตกัว  
หุ่น, ๕-ก็รา, ๖-พังงา, ๗-คุระ, ๘-คุรอด, ประ มวณ มา เปน ๘ เมือง

เมือง ก็รา, พังงา, คุระ, คุรอด, เปน เมือง ขึ้น กับ เมือง ตกัว บ้า

รู้ เรื่อง ราว ได้ แต่ เพียง นี้ แล้ว แต่ จะ ไป รด ราช

๑ เรื่อง นี้ เขียน ไว้ เมื่อ ปี ๒๓๐๓ คก ศักราช ๒๓๐๓ ปี ราช



( TRANSLATION )

## Historical Notice

On the Thalāng, Takūa-pā, Takūa-thùng, P'hạng-ngā,  
and Phūket Districts.

We, the named: Nāi Rōk son of Chāu Phrayā Surindr-rājā, Chāng-wāng; Nāi Sūk and Nāi Sūa, sons of the Governor of Thalāng (P'hayā Thalāng); and Lúang Bej-giri Sri-samud-visuddhi-songkhram, Vice-Governor (*Palat*) of Thalāng, beg to recount the story as formerly told by the elders [of the place] and according to what we have learnt and seen for ourselves, as follows.

**Thalang**—At Thalāng formerly Chom Rāng of Bān-Takhien was governor. His wife was a Malay woman from Kedah, Mā-sja by name, daughter of Mahum-thau; having become a widow her younger brother claimed 5000 [dollars ?] in the estate, wherefore she left Kedah in disgust and came to Thalāng where she wedded Chom Rāng. Five children were born of this union, of whom two were boys and three girls. The eldest of the girls, Chan by name, became afterwards [1786] Lady Deyā-krasatri; whereas the second one, Muk, became Lady Sri-sundara: this happened early in the first Reign. The youngest girl's name was Mā. The younger brother of this, At, became in after years Governor of Thalāng; and another still younger brother, Rüang, obtained the post of Phor [Lúang Phor].

Of the noblemen of Thalāng, Chom Thau, resided at Bān-Don and Chom Rāng at Bān-Takhien. Chom Thau and Chom Rāng had been born of the same father but of different mothers. Chom Thau's sons likewise resided at Bān-Don: of these one became P'hayā Thalāng Chiet-thong ["of the Golden Tray"], his mother's name being Ch'hieng; and another, Rüang, became Vice-Governor (P'hayā Palat), his mother's name being Dam. Perfect harmony reigned between the two families of Bān-Don and Bān-Takhien: both acquired distinction, and their descendance ruled the territory in succession.

At Bān-Lip'hon, however, Chom Jay-surindr mischievously plotted setting up as supreme chief, whereupon a warrant arrived from the capital to arrest and execute him as guilty of high treason; thus the race of good men came to an end [in that village].

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I. The initial syllable may represent the word *Mah* usually prefixed to the names of Malay women.

At Thalāng, Khāng-seng a citizen from the capital [ Bāngkok ] was sent out as Governor. He was succeeded by Governor Āt who was shot dead by dacoits; thus the district was left without a superior authority. A Malay from Kedah came to rule it for a while; but the islanders rose in arms against the Malays, built stockades at Mai-Khāu and Pāk Sākhū, and erected dykes,<sup>1</sup> thus becoming masters of the situation.

Just then P'hrayā P'himon (Bimol), Governor of Krah [ but now ] residing at Chump'hon, [ came and ] wedded Lady Deva-kraṣattri. This lady had been first married to Mom Sri P'hakdi, a Takūa-thùng man son of the female devotee Buñ-kūt. This lady [ termed Khun Chī on account of her probably having taken nun vows for some time in after life ], also originary of Takūa-thùng, had become the spouse of Chōm Nāi Kong, an official from Bān Yāi-lāi-sāi in the Lakhon (Ligor) province who had come out as governor.<sup>2</sup> Two children were born of this union, viz. a boy, Mom Sri P'hakdi, who got married in Thalāng; and a girl, Buñ-khong, who got wedded to P'rah Prasiddhi Songkhram. Mom Sri P'hakdi had two children born by Lady Deva-Kraṣattri: the elder one being a girl, Mē Prāng by name; and the younger a boy, Thien, who became afterwards governor of Thalāng [ being nicknamed ] the Asthmatic.

Having become a widow, Lady Deva-Kraṣattri remarried with P'hrayā P'himon, and had by him first a girl, Mē Thong, who was brought and presented to Court where she became subsequently the

1. I already observed on p. 42 that the expression **Ṭāng-ro**, occurring here, could hardly be a place-name. I have since come to the conclusion that it means to build dams or dykes wherewith to bar the access of the waterways from the sea. Such defences were probably erected in the Pāk Sākhū and neighbouring river mouths or inlets affording water communication between the sea and the Thalāng district. I must plead in extenuation of this and other gropings after meaning, that the Siamese original is couched in a considerably involved, reticent, and at times queer language which renders correct translation by no means an easy task. In reproducing the text above I have endeavoured to make it clearer of understanding by the insertion of punctuation marks, parentheses, and blank spaces to indicate stops, etc.; while in the translation I have followed the order of sentences in the original in so far as it seemed possible without unduly sacrificing clearness.

2. Whether of Takūa-thùng or Thalāng is not clear.

mother of Princess<sup>1</sup> Ubon (Uppala). Two boys were born next to her, viz. Chui who became P'hrah Yokkrabatr, and Nīem who became a Royal Page during the early part of the [First] Reign. Then followed two girls, Mē Kim and Mē Mūang,

Later on P'hrayā P'himon, as a consequence of a legal suit brought against him by Thien his step-son, went [*i. e.* was transferred] to P'hatthalung. Thalāng was then given P'hrayā Thalāng of the Gold Tray as governor; but this official having incurred punishment went [*i. e.* was deported] to the capital (Bāngkok) where he died [under confinement, of course],

Thien the Asthmatic was then appointed governor of Thalāng, with Nāi Rūang as P'hrayā Palat and Nai C'hū, a governor in after years, as P'hrayā Yokkrabatr. Thus at that period, the governor, vice-governor, and registrar of Thalāng all held P'hyā rank.

**P'huket**—As regards the P'huket district, Lúang P'huket, Khāng-khot by name, was governor. To him succeeded Nāi Srī-c'hāi assistant (in the Royal Pages)<sup>2</sup> as P'hrah P'huket. Next the governorship fell to the father of the Lúang Palat named Uk.

The boundary between P'huket and Thalāng was fixed along a line running from Bāng Khū<sup>3</sup> to the river [of Thā-Rūa]. P'huket was formerly a large and important district, but it has been once more placed under Thalāng. The limits of its jurisdiction are :

On the West : Hín C'hāi; P'hlāi Tanôt ;

On the East : Koh Map'hraū, Āu Tab-kē, Lēm Ngā, Lēm Mat-p'hā; and thence all the way to Koh Yāu [the two Panjang islands], Koh Alang [the two Alangs], Koh Klūei, Lēm Yā-mū, Rēt [island], Nākhā [2 islands], Koh Rawah, Koh Pā-yōi, Koh C'hangam, Āu P'hāramā, Koh Yā-nat, Koh Khūlā-khot; and thence to Lēm Kho-en,

1. The antiquated term เจ้าครอก, Chāu Khrok, absent in dictionaries and now long proscribed as impolite to designate Princes and Princesses with, is still made use of here, being moreover spelt เจ้า เกราะ in true *Thai Nok* style (in which, as among neighbouring Malays, final *h* is silent or, at any rate, is converted into an aspirate *h*).

2. นาย เวน, *i. e.* นาย เวน มหาดเล็ก, lit. head of a shift or squad of the royal pages; but practically, an assistant or under-chief of section.

3. Bāng-Khū village lies W. S. W. from Thā-Rūa town.

Pāk Koyik, Lēm Pāk P'hrayā; then across to Pāk-nam Mon and to Pāk P'hrah only on one side of the channel, the other [ i. e. the northern one ] belonging to the Takūa-thùng district.

**Takua-thung**—With respect to Takūa-thùng, formerly Chāu P'hrayā Indrawongsā had established his residence at Pāk P'hrah, levelled a site and started to erect a mansion; but before the work had been completed news came that P'hyā Tāk had set up as king, and Chāu P'hrayā Indrawongsā died. Commissioners of Chāu P'hrayā and P'hrayā rank were thereupon sent out from the capital; most of whom fixed their quarters at Pāk P'hrah, viz.: Chāu P'hrayā Lū Rājanikūl, P'hrayā Dharmatrailók, and P'hrayā P'hip'hít P'hòkhai. P'hrayā Dharmatrailók fought the Burmese at Pāk P'hrah and lost his life there; whereas P'hrayā P'hip'hít-p'hòkhai made his escape viâ P'hang-ngā, through the pass that has since become known as Dān P'hrayā P'hip'hít [ usually marked in maps as Mt. Prapipit ].

The boundary of Takūa-thùng was fixed at the Ta-ngī river and thence straight along the Nam-lam-thā stream, the valley of which latter wholly belongs to Takūa-thùng, Takūa-pā having no right in it. At Takūa-thùng formerly Lúang P'hejr was governor. He was succeeded by P'hrah Takūa-thùng the Broken-leg (or, Lame); and this by Chom P'hithaks,—who was the father of the P'hrah Palat and of Lady Mūang, the mother of P'hrah Wises—and whose name was Thī.<sup>1</sup> The governorship of Takūa-thùng then passed to Khún Dam, whose mother's name was Nui, and his father's Lek. This latter was said to be descended of Moñ settlers at the capital.<sup>2</sup> When the governor just mentioned died, he was succeeded by his son Thín who was the father of Ōn, a later governor of Takua-thùng. His mother's name was Sñ In, and his maternal grandmother's Rieu: this matron hailed from the Rē-Mai-kén village, and having wedded Chom Nāi-kong [ the governor of either Thalāng or Takūa-thùng, see p. 118 above ] she had had by him the aforesaid daughter In [ Sñ In ]. Pāk P'hrah Strait formed the line of demarcation between Takūa-thùng and Thalāng territories.

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1. The abridged version reproduced below under No. 2, has instead of this garbled and evidently corrupt passage the following: "Then Nāi Sñ became Chom Sñ P'hakdi [ and not Chom P'hithaks as above ] and governor; he was the father of the P'hrah Palat and Mē Mūang, the mother of P'hrah Wises."

2. Here we have an argot word **ṭṭ** standing both for **ṭṭ** and **ṭṭ**.

**The Junkceylon Revenue.**—Whenever crown property accumulated at Thalāng, the authorities of this district used to forward it to Takūa-thùng, whence it was sent on to Takūa-pa; this having been the custom mutually followed for a long time.

When Thalāng had not yet been taken by the Burmese, whereas Takūa-thùng, Takūa-pā, C'haiyā and C'hump'hon had fallen into their power [1785], a quantity of tin, bales of fabrics [Indian piece-goods], and firearms [from India], had been conveyed and lay piled up at the Sok Mountain. Lúang P'hojr-dhanū (Süng), an official from Ligor stationed at Bān Kāu Som-ô on the P'hnom river, collected men and started to remove the crown property from the landing at the Sok Mountain [Thā Kháu Sok, evidently without being authorised to do so]. Hence a Royal commissioner was despatched thither from the capital with a mandate to hold an inquiry into the doings of Lúang P'hojr-dhanū (Süng). Owing to this, all the people settled along the Thā P'hnom river [took fright and] fled, and the deserted country became overgrown with jungle.

While the P'hrah Takūa-thùng—who was the father of the later P'hrah Takūa-thùng named Thín—was governor of that district, an order came to him from the capital to proceed to India [Müang Thet] and get piece-goods of certain patterns manufactured there. The governor set out taking with him white as well as black-complexioned Baboo foreigners settled in the Thalāng district [*i. e.* Junkceylon Island], and some masters of sundry [foreign] sailing vessels. At just the same time Lúang Bāgyavādī who resided at Trang, and Lúang Khlang (Thet) an official from the capital had also gone [to India] and got similar piece-goods woven and gold and silver vessels enamelled in various colours [as used at Court] manufactured, which they brought back with them. Thereupon the Takūa-thùng governor had all these valuable articles conveyed under his personal supervision [across the main range] to Thā Kháu Sok where he loaded them into boats; but when reaching the Pratu Lóng rapids a sudden swell of the river caused the governor's boat to founder, and all the enamelled ware was lost, so that he was unable to bring it to Court.

**Takua-pa.**—In the Takūa-pā district Chom P'hakdī-senā (Khék)<sup>1</sup> formerly was governor. He was succeeded by P'hrah Viji the Deaf, and this by Lúang Takūa-pā a Chinaman. Then the office

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1. This may mean either that he was a Khék, *i. e.* a Malay or Indū by race, or that his name was Khék.

passed to Lúang Narong the son of P'hrayā Prasiddhi Songkhram Governor-general [Chāng-wāng], who thus became Lúang Takūa-pā. Next it fell to P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Mùang) and, again, to P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Kēt) who was murdered by Chinese [? miners].<sup>1</sup> At this juncture Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā applied for Phrah Indr-rakṣā from the Border corps of the C'haiyā province,<sup>2</sup> who thereupon received the appointment of P'hrayā Takūa-pā.<sup>3</sup> Then the district passed under the governorship of P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Mùang) and, at the death of this, to P'hrayā Takūa-pā (Uḥ).

Here ends the account of the Takūa-thùng, Takūa-pā, Thalāng, and P'hūket districts.

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Account of the opening of a New Overland Route from Marūi,  
Pāk-Lāu, and Thā-P'hāmē. [1804].

[N.B.—A translation in full of the first portion of this account has already been given on pp. 67-71 above, which therefore see, as it would be superfluous to reproduce it here. The continuation from line 13 on p. 71 *supra*, runs as follows: ]

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1. At least one *lapsus calami* has evidently crept in here in the Siamese text; for the abridged account (No. II) has: "Next it fell to P'hrah Takūa-pā (Kēt) — the father of [the later] P'hrah Takūa-pā (Mùang), — who was led to death by the Chinese. Then P'hrayā Indr [-rakṣā] from the Outer circumscription of C'haiyā came out as P'hrah Takūa-pā; after him came P'hrah Takūa-pā (Mùang); and, finally, Phrah Takūa-pā (Uḥ)." — This is undoubtedly the correct line of succession, for above Governor Mùang is made to hold office twice, and this after having been murdered the first time too. It was evidently his father, Governor Kēt, who was the victim of that dastardly outrage. As regards the difference in rank, as P'hrah and P'hrayā, ascribed to the Takūa-pā governors in the two accounts, No 11 is probably again in the right.

2. กองนอก, lit. "Outer Corps." Under the old administrative régime this term meant the body of borderland serfs, or Outer Corvée-companies of a district, the men enrolled in which were employed on local duty such as guarding the borders, the frontier passes, duty-stations etc.; and not brought in to serve at the chef-lieu of the district.

3. As such an appointment was made at the solicitation of Chāu P'hyā Surindr-rājā who, as it has been seen, was already an elderly man in 1793 though still hale and active in 1804, we may argue the approximate date for the event and place it between 1800 and 1810-1820 at the very latest.

"Later on an official named Buñ-khong was appointed P'hrayā Thalāng and sent out [from the Capital] as Governor [circā 1820]. He gathered together lots of people whom he induced to settle down and form villages all the way from Marùì to Bāng Tōi [*i.e.* about the western portion of the overland route across the Malay Peninsula].

Subsequently, when P'hrayā Krai Kōṣā came out [from Bāngkok] to collect the arrears of paddy-dues and field-taxes, His Excellency [the Minister either for War or for Agriculture] despatched Nai C'hūai to come out and represent to him that no such imposts should be levied at Marùì [and other places about the western end of the tin road] as the collection of them devolved by right upon Thalāng. The Thalāng Governor also pointed out, in his turn, that such [territories and their revenue] had long before been bestowed by Royal grant upon Chāu P'hayā Surindr-rājā and continued till the present [as appurtenances of his successors in the government-general of the region, under that grant]. But the Royal Commissioner [*i.e.*, P'hrayā Krai Kōṣā] alleging that no formal written instructions had reached him from the Capital with respect to such a privilege refused to give in, and thus the imposts have been exacted from that day [by the Central Government.]<sup>1</sup>

On the P'hnom [*i.e.* Thā P'hnom] slope, the basins of the water-courses on either side of the Nam-lam-thā stream and the route for conveying the Crown-property were under the jurisdiction of P'hang-ngā. Formerly both the Thalāng and P'hang-ngā districts were forwarding dependencies [ เมือง ขวาง แขวง *i.e.* in so far as royalties in kind and other Crown goods were concerned ] of Takūa-pā.

On the East, Khlong Thām [ 'Cave Brook' ] had been allotted to P'hang-ngā as far up as the Kháu Song-p'hī-nong [ "Two Brothers Mount" ]. This mountain was adopted as the dividing line between the two territories [*i.e.* P'hang-ngā and Takūa-pā]. Thence the boundary ran [along the sea-coast] to P'hrah Āt-thāu; Koh Yāng and Koh P'hing-kan [ เกาะ พัง นัน, or Bīngan Is. ] being included as part of

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1. The style of this passage is exceedingly reticent, thus making it difficult of understanding. The translation of it offered here is an improvement on the abstract given on p. 89, top, where the rendering of the last sentences is defective in so far as there was no exemption whatever from taxes, but simply a privileged collection of them on the part of the Thalāng authorities in virtue of the Royal grant above referred to.

P'hang-ngā territory.<sup>1</sup> But the Takūa-thùng Governor [P'hrah Takūa-thùng] named Thín, being a younger brother-in-law of the Thalāng Governor Buñ-khong, asked from the latter the cession of Kháu Rājā-Bi-nī [Rājā Binī Mount], Pulau Pāgi, and Koh Nom Sáu [ ' Maid-breast Isle ' ] as dependencies of Takūa-thùng; which request Governor Buñ-khong granted in consideration of his relationship with his Takūa-thùng colleague.

On the North, Kháu Khmāu-lek [ ' Iron-black Mountain ' ] forms the boundary of P'hang-ngā territory. On the North-east [North-west?] Upper Korā [Ko-rā Sūng, <sup>ᨧᩢ᩠ᨦᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᨶᩣ᩠ᩅ</sup> and Song P'hrek are border dependencies of it.

C'hāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā<sup>2</sup> was governor-general over the Eight Districts. P'hrayā Prasiddhi-songkhram succeeded him in the office of Chāng-wāng [Chief, or General, Superintendent] with the same authority.

What is [administratively] termed the 'Eight Districts' includes the following territories:

- |                 |                |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1.—Thalāng,     | 5.—Ko-rā,      |
| 2.—P'hūket,     | 6.—P'hang-ngā, |
| 3.—Takūa-pā,    | 7.—Khurah,     |
| 4.—Takūa-thùng, | 8.—Khurot.     |

Of these, Ko-rā, P'hang-ngā, Khurah, and Khurot are dependencies of Takūa-pā.

The above account is all that is known to us and that we are able to relate [on the subject]; it remains with Your pleasure [to ordain as may seem fit to (presumably) Your Excellency].<sup>3</sup>

This report has been written in the year of the Ox, third of the decennial cycle, and 1203 of the [Chula] Era [=A. D. 1841]."

1. P'hrah Āt—thāu, พระยา อำไค, is evidently the little promontory on the west side of P'hang-ngā Bay marked Lem Phra At (Lēm P'hrah Āt) on modern charts; and Koh Yāng and Bīngan must be two of the islets lying in front of it and to the northward of Koh C'hanak.

2. An abstract of this and following passages has already been given on p. 71 above.

3. This concluding sentence evidences that this report was prepared at the request of the Ministry of War or Kalāhôm Department which had then jurisdiction over the Siamese possessions on the Malay Peninsula, on the occasion of the governorship of Thalāng having become vacant, in order to enable the Minister concerned to submit the facts of the case along with a proposal for the appointment of a new governor, to H. M. the King for consideration and decision.



## II.—ABRIDGED VARIANT OF No. I.

๑ จอม ร้าง บ้าน ตเคียน เปน เจ้า เมือง; เมีย ชื่อ หม้า เลี้ย, ลูก  
มहु่ม เมือง ไท; มี ลูก ชาย ชื่อ อาจ เปน พระยา ถาง ๑, ชื่อ เรือง เปน  
ที่ พด ๑, รวม สอง คน; ลูก หญิง ชื่อ จันทร เปน ท้าว เทพ กระ  
ษัตริย์ ๑, ชื่อ มุก เปน ท้าว ศรี สุนทร ๑, ชื่อ หม้า ๑, รวม สาม  
คน; รวม ทั้ง ชาย ทั้ง หญิง เปน ๕ คน ะ

๑ จอม ร้าง กับ จอม เก้า เปน ลูก พ่อ เดียว กัน แต่ต่าง มารดา;  
จอม ร้าง อยู่ บ้าน ตเคียน; จอม เก้า อยู่ บ้าน ดอน, ลูก ได้ เปน  
พระยา ถาง เจียต ทอง, แม่ ชื่อ เขียง, พระยา ปลัด แม่ ชื่อ ดำ  
ตัว ชื่อ เรือง ะ

๑ ฝ่าย บ้าน ดิพชน จอม ไชย์ สุรินทร กิต ขบถฆ่า เลี้ย; พระยา  
ถาง ( ก้าง แซง ) เขา กรุง ออก มา เปน เจ้า เมือง; พระยา ถาง  
( อาจ ) เปน เจ้า เมือง ผู้ ร้าย ยิง ตาย; แล้ว แยก เมือง ไท มา  
เปน เจ้า เมือง น้อย หนึ่ง ะ

๑ พระยา พิมด, เดิม เปน พระยา กระ, ได้ ด้วย ท้าว เทพ กระ  
ษัตริย์; จอม นาย กอง เขา นคร บ้าน ใหญ่ ตาย ส่าย ออก มา เปน  
สำเร็จ ราชการ, ไว้ กับ คุณชี บุญ เกิด, มี ลูก ชาย ชื่อ หม่อม ศรี  
ภักดี, ลูก หญิง ชื่อ คง ได้ กับ พระยา ประสิทธิ์ สังคราม ะ

๑ หม่อมศรีภักดี ได้ กับ ท้าว เทพ กระษัตริย์; มี ลูกชาย ชื่อ เทียน  
เปน พระยา ถาง, ลูก หญิง ชื่อ ปราง; ท้าว เทพ กระษัตริย์ เปน หม้าย  
ได้ พระยา พิมด, มี ลูก หญิง ชื่อ แม่ทอง คุณ มารดา เจ้า ครอบ  
อุปถ; ลูก ชาย ชื่อ จุ้ย เปน พระยา ยกรบัตร์, ชื่อ เนียม เปน มหาเด็ก;  
มี ลูก หญิง ชื่อ กิม, ชื่อ เมือง; พระยา ถาง เทียน ลูก เดียง พ่อ พระยา

พินิต ต้อง ไป อยู่ เมือง พัทลุง; พระยา เจียต ทอง เปน พระยา ถาง,  
ที่ ปลัด นายเวียง เปน พระยา ปลัด, พระยา ถางชู เปน พระยา ยกรบัตร ฯ

๑ เมือง ภูเก็ต หดวง ภูเก็ต ( ข้าง คด ) เปน เจ้า เมือง; แล้ว  
นาย ศรี ชาย นาย เวณ เปน พระยา ภูเก็ต; แล้ว บิดา หดวง ปลัด (อกุ)  
เปน เจ้า เมือง ฯ

๑ เมือง ตักว้ หุ่น เดิม หดวง เพ็ชร เปน เจ้า เมือง, ได้ มา พระ  
ตักว้ หุ่น ( ชา หัก ); ได้ มา นาย ศรี เปน จอม ศรี ภูเก็ต เปน  
เจ้า เมือง ( เปน พ่อ พระ ปลัด, แด แม่ เมือง, แม่ พระ วิเศษ ); แล้ว  
ได้ มา พระ ตักว้ หุ่น ( ชุนดำ ), พ่อ พระ ตักว้ หุ่น ( ถิน ); แล้ว  
ได้ มา พระ ตักว้ หุ่น ( ถิน ) ทุก วัน นี้; แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตักว้ หุ่น  
( อ่อน ); แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตักว้ หุ่น ( กล่อม ) ฯ

๑ เมือง ตักว้ บ้า จอม ภูเก็ต เด่นา ( แวก ) เปน เจ้า เมือง;  
แล้ว ได้ มา พระ วิจิตร ( หู หนอง ); ได้ มา หดวง ตักว้ บ้า จิ้น; ได้  
มา หดวง ณรงค์ บุตร พระยา ประสิทธิ์ สงคราม จาง วาง; ได้ มา พระ  
ตักว้ บ้า ( เกษ ) พ่อ พระ ตักว้ บ้า ( ม่วง ), จิ้น ภา ไป ฆ่า เสีย;  
แล้ว พระยา อินทร, กอง นอกไชยา, มา เปน พระ ตักว้ บ้า แล้ว ได้ มา  
พระ ตักว้ บ้า ( ม่วง ); แล้ว ได้ มา พระ ตักว้ บ้า ( อกุ ) ฯ

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[N. B.—A translation of this account which is, practically, but an  
abridged—perhaps older—version of No. I., which it confirms in the main,  
is here deemed unnecessary, as the points on which discrepancies occur  
between the two, have been adverted to in the course of the foregoing  
pages].

๑ หนังสือ เจ้า พระยา อัครมหา เสด็จขัตติย อภัย พิริยปรากกรม พาหุ,  
 สมุห พระ กลาโหม ; มา ถึง เจ้า พระยา ชรรมาโคกราช ชาติ เด ไชย  
 มไหย สุริยา ขัตติย อภัย พิริยปรากกรมพาหุ      เจ้า พระยา นคร ศรี ชรร  
 ราช, พระยา พิษิต เสด็จมา มหา พิไชย อภัย พิริย ศรีสงคราม พระยา พัฒ  
 ดุง, พระยา พิไชย ศรี ศรี สมุท สงคราม พระยา สงฆา, พระยา พิษิต  
 ภักดี ศรี พิไชย สงคราม พระยาไชยา, พระ เพชร คำแหง สงคราม พระ  
 ชุมพร, หลวง เทพ ศรี ศรี สงคราม หลวง ปทิว      ขะ

๑ ด้วย เจ้า พระยา สุรินทร ราชา กราบ ทูล พระ กรุณา ว่า จะ ขอ  
 ตัด ทาง ขน พระ ราช ทรัพย์ แต่ ปากถาว มา ลง พนม, หน ทางใกล้ กว่า  
 ทาง ท่า เขา ศัก ถึง ๑๔ วัน ๑๕ วัน ;      ท่า พนม เปน ที่ สัมหนัก มัต ผัว,  
 ดี บุค, พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง แหวง เมือง นคร ;      แต่ เปน ดง บ้ำ  
 รก ร้าง อยู่, หา มี บ้าน เรือน ผู้ คน ตั้ง อยู่ เหมือน แต่ ก่อนไม่, เปลี่ยน  
 อยู่ ;      จึง จัด ให้ ขุน ทิพ ขุน เพ็ชร ศรี, เปน นาย กอง คบ คุ่ม ขุน  
 หมั่น ไพร มี ชื่อ, มา ให้ ตั้ง บ้าน เรือน เปน ภูมิ สถาน ตำ เนต, อยู่  
 รักษา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง มา หลาย ครั้ง แล้ว ;      แต่ กำตั้ง ขุน  
 หมั่น ไพร มี ชื่อ เหล่า นั้น      เห็น เขา บาง น้อย ตัว, ไม่ สม ควร ด้วย  
 พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หลวง ;      เกิดอกผู้ มีชื่อ หดบ หัน มุด นาย เข้า มา  
 อยู่ป่าดง ได้ มาก แล้ว,      จะ มา กระ ทำ ร้าย พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ  
 หลวง จะ เสีย ราชการ ไป ;      แต่ ผู้มี ชื่อ เปน เลข ไพร หลวง พดเมือง  
 เมือง ตกัว บ้ำ, เมือง พังงา, เมือง ถดาง, เมือง ตกัว หุ่น, ทั้ง ๘ หัว  
 เมือง,      บรรดา ที่ หัน หลวง มา อยู่ แหวง เมือง นคร, พัฒดุง, สงฆา,  
 ไชยา, ชุมพร, ปทิว, หัว เมือง ปาก ได้นั้น เปน อัน มาก ;      ขอ รับ

พระ ราชทาน ให้ ชุน ทิพ สัมบัติ, ชุน เพ็ชร คีรี, นาย กอง ที่ พนม สืบ  
 ลาว ชัก ขวน เกลี้ยง ก่ออม เอา เลข ไพ่ หดวง.พต เมือง เมือง ถาง,  
 บาว คดี, ทั้ง แปร หัว เมือง มา ให้ ตั้ง บ้าน เรือน ทำ มา หา กิน ให้  
 มั่ง คั่ง บริบูรณ์; จะ ได้ รักษา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หดวง ด้วย ประ  
 การ หนึ่ง, ถ้า มี ศัก ส่องคราม มา ตี ตัด บ้าน เมือง เมือง ถาง,  
 ตกัว หุ่น, ตกัว ป่า, จะ ได้ ควบคุม กัน อุด หนุนรบพุ่ง นั้น ก็ ชอบ  
 ด้วย ราชการ อยู่ แล้ว ๖

ทรง พระ กรุณา โปรด ให้ ชุน ทิพ สัมบัติ, ชุน เพ็ชร คีรี นาย  
 กอง พนม สืบ ลาว ชัก ขวน เกลี้ยง ก่ออม เอา เลข สัก แล้ว แด ยัง มิ ได้  
 สัก, เลข เมือง ถาง แด เมือง นคร, พังดง, สูงขตา, ไชยา, ชุมพร,  
 ซึ่ง หดบ หนี มุต นาย แด เลข ตกัว ป่า, ตกัว หุ่น, ทั้ง แปร หัว เมือง  
 บรรดา ซึ่ง หดบ หนี มุต นาย อยู่ ป่า ดง แด แอบ แฝง อยู่ ด้วย ผู้ รักษา  
 เมือง ผู้ รัง กรม การ ณเมือง นคร, พังดง, สูงขตา, ไชยา, ชุมพร,  
 ปทิว, หัว เมือง บั๊กซ์ ได้ ฝ่าย ตัวนี้ ตก ทั้ง นั้น, เอา มา ให้ ตั้ง บ้าน  
 เรือน ทำ มา หา กิน อยู่ ที่ พนม, ที่ ปากตา, ให้ ได้ ๒๐๐ ครว, ๓๐๐ ครว,  
 จะ ได้ รับ รักษา พระ ราช ทรัพย์ ของ หดวง ให้ เปน ภูมิ สดถาน ดำ เน  
 จง มั่ง คั่ง บริบูรณ์ ขึ้น ๖

จึง ทรง พระ กรุณา โปรด เกด้า ให้ ทำตามเจ้าพระยา สุรินทร  
 ราชา กราบ บัง คม ทูล พระ กรุณา นั้น เกิด; ถ้า ชุน ทิพ สัมบัติ, ชุน  
 เทพ คีรี สืบ ลาว ชัก ขวน เกลี้ยง ก่ออม ได้ เลข เมือง ไต เท่าใดเปน ชาย  
 หญิง ใหญ่ น้อย, ให้ ยื่น หาง ว่าว ไว้ แก่ เจ้า พระยา สุรินทรราชา ผู้  
 ดำเร้า ราช การ ทั้ง แปร หัว เมือง บอก เข้า ไป กราบ ทูล พระ กรุณา ให้  
 ทราบ; ห้าม อย่า ให้ ผู้ รักษา เมือง, ผู้ รัง, กรมการ, นาย ที่, นายอำเภอ

แต่ ข้า หลวง ผู้ไป มา เอา กิจ ราชการ, ทำ ช่ม เหน่ ญด คร่า ถาก เกาะ  
 จำ ขุน ทิพสมบัต, ขุน เพชร คีรี, นาย กอง, ขุน หมื่น แด ไพร์ มี่ ช่อ,  
 บรรดา ที่ เกลี่ย ก่อหม ได้ มา แต่ บ้าน เรือน ที่ พนม, ที่ ปาก ถาว ทั้ง  
 นี้ ไป ใช้ ราช การ งาน โยธา เบ็จ เสร็จ ซึ่ง มิ ได้ เบน น้า ที่ พนังงาน  
 ขุน เพชร คีรี, ขุน ทิพสมบัต, ขุน หมื่น ไพร์ แดก คั่น ได้ ความ  
 เด็ดร้อน แต่ สิ่ง หนึ่ง สิ่ง ใด เบน อัน ขาด ที่ เดี่ยว; หนังสือ นี้ มา ถึง  
 วัน ใด ก็ ให้ ทำ ตาม หนังสือ นี้ ทุก ประการ ะ

๑ หนังสือ มา ณวัน ๕ ๙ [๙?] คำ ปี่ ชวด นพศก ะ  
 ( มา ถึง ปี่ เาะ นพศก ได้ ๒๓ ปี, จตุศักราช ได้ ๑๒๒๘ ปี ) ะ

[N. B.—As the points which are of some importance and particular interest in the above letter have already been dealt with in the course of our treatment of the subject therein referred to (see pp. 64—72 *supra*), a translation in full of the document is deemed here unnecessary.

The same remark holds good for the next one, which contains but trifling details as to boundaries [between the districts through which passes the overland route across the Malay Peninsula].

## IV.—LETTER FROM A LOCAL OFFICIAL AT P'HANOM, 1885.

๑ ท้อง ที่ ปาก พนม ข้าง ฝ้าย ใต้ น้ำ ลง ไป ต่อ กับ เมืองกาญจนดิฐ เทียม คลอง บาง จาก; ปาก คลอง บางจาก ลง ไป ข้าง ใต้ น้ำ, เปน ที่ เมืองกาญจนดิฐ อำเภอ ขวัญ; คลองบางจาก ระยะ กับ บ้านคาซุน ลง ไป หน่อย หนึ่ง; ฝ้าย ข้าง เหนือ น้ำ ตาม ลำ คลอง คัก ขึ้น ไป เพียง คลอง กระหนายญาติ; ปลาย คลอง กระหนายญาติ ไป จม ภูเขาศก; ปาก ภูเขา ศก ข้าง หัว นอน เปน ที่ เมือง ตักว บำ อำเภอ ซุน ภาคัก คงคา ปาก ภูเขา ศก ข้างใต้ ต้น เปน ที่ พนม; ปาก คลอง กระหนายญาติ ข้าง เหนือ น้ำ เปน ที่ เมือง คีรี รัตนนิคม อำเภอ ซุนราม ภาคัก; ปาก คลอง กระหนาย ญาติ ฝ้าย ใต้ น้ำ เปน ที่ พนม; ปาก คลอง กระหนาย ญาติ ใต้ ทำ บ้านศก ลง มา หน่อย หนึ่ง; แล ที่ พนม จะ ไป ต่อ กับ อำเภอ ทำ บ้านศก ขึ้น สัก เพียง ไหน ซุน จิตรพริบ, ซุน พิพคี่ บ้าน คลอง ช่อน แล คน แก่ ๆ แต่ ก่อน ก็ หา ทราบ ว่า จะ ต่อ กัน เพียง ไหน ไม่ ะ

๑ ข้าพเจ้า ซุน ช่วย ราชการ ซุน ภาคัก ดังคราม ที่ พนม, บอก มา ยัง ซุนวิจิตร อักษร ขอใจ นำ ขึ้น กราบเรียน ได้ เ้ากรุณาเจ้า ทราบ ด้วย โปรด ให้ ข้าพเจ้า สืบ เศวต แดน ที่ พนม สืบ ได้ ความ ว่า :— ข้าง ฝ้าย ใต้ ดิน แดน ที่ ตมุง กับ แดน ที่ พนม แหวง เมือง นคร เพียงกลาง ศก; ข้าง ฝ้าย ใต้ น้ำ, แดน เมือง กาญจนดิฐ; กับ แดน ที่ อำเภอ วัง คาซุน ตรง ปากคลอง ขรรณเรียง คัด บำ ตรง ไป เขาไม้ หัก, ฝ้ายใต้ น้ำ เปน ที่ เมือง กาญจนดิฐ, ฝ้าย หัวน้ำ เปน ที่ อำเภอ วัง คาซุน; เขา ไม้ หัก ตรงไป เขา พเนิน ฝ้ายเขา พเนิน ข้าง อาคณเณย์ เปน ที่ ทำ ขึ้น, ฝ้าย เขา พเนิน ปลาย หนึ่ง เปน ที่ พนม; ๆ กับ ที่ กระบี่ เขา คลอง เ้า

แม่ เปน เขตร แดน; คลองเท้าแม่ เปน ปลาย คลอง เขา ดิน แง, น้ำ ไหล  
ลง คลองตา; ปะหัว นอน เปน ที่ กระบี่, ปะ ใต้ ดิน คลอง เท้า แม่  
เปน ที่ พนม; ฝ่าย เหนือ น้ำ ใต้คลอง ศก ขึ้น ไป ถึง คลอง ขนาย ฤๅษี;  
ปลาย คลอง ขนาย ฤๅษี เข้า ภู เขา ศก, ปะ คลอง ขนาย ฤๅษี ฝ่าย  
ใต้ น้ำ เปน ที่ พนม; ฝ่าย เหนือ น้ำ เปน ที่ เมือง คีรี รัตนนิคม; คลอง  
ขนาย ฤๅษี เปน เขตร แดน; ฝ่าย หัว นอน เปน ที่ เมือง ตกัว บ่า, ฝ่าย  
ใต้ ดิน เปน ที่ พนม; ภู เขา ศก ตัด ตรง ไป เขา ปลาย คลอง พนม;  
ปลาย เขา พนม ตัด ตรง ไป ควร ดิน แดน ธาร

๑ บอก มา ณวัน ๑๖๓๐ ปี ระกา ศัปต ศก ธาร

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

p. 6, bottom line of text. I have since noticed that the promontory forming the north end of Tioman island, in the Gulf of Siām, bears the same name: "Ūjong Salāng," i. e. 'Salang Point,' while the cove on its west side is called "Tilo (Teluk) Salang," i. e. 'Salang Bight.' Though not noticed in naval directories, both these toponyms are referred to in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. V (1851), p. 138; and appear on the geological map facing p. 135 of the same work. Their occurrence in a twofold application on Pulo Tioman is alike instructive and interesting, and deals—to my belief—the death-blow to the new-fangled 'Junk' theory (see p. 3 above). For *Salang* appears here as a proper name applied both to a headland and to a bay, and there can be no question of 'Junk,' as in local folklore Tioman is believed to be the fossilized body of "the mighty Dragon Sri Gumon, that formerly held its abode in the Ulu Pahang, but which on its attempt to visit its sister Gunong Linga (Lingin Peak) Sri Rama prohibited, and changed into stone.....The Dragon Sri Gumon fell into the deep sea and there remained. See you not his nostrils as it were inflated, at the most southerly extreme, these we call the *Beralah Bugis*. Then there is the forehead and crowning *Chula* [= 'Horn' in Malay; but in my opinion, connected with Pāli 'Cūlā' = Crest, top-knot], here his jagged back rises up in serrated ridges, thence to the north tapers down his long tail, the extreme of which is called *Ujong Salang*. Does this not prove that he was proceeding from Pahang to Linga, his tail to the former and his head to the latter?" (*Journal Indian Arch.*, loc. cit.). Conformably to such notions, Pulo Tioman is called เกาะ นาค, i. e. the 'Nāga (Dragon) Island' by the Siāmeses, and appears under this name in the records of the local old junk-trade days. There can thus not remain the least shadow of a doubt that the 'Junk' theory as applied to Salāng toponymy, must be relegated to the limbo of burst bubbles. Salāng unmistakeably proves to be a proper name; but whether of a tree, plant, or tribe is the problem that still awaits its solution.

What now seems, however, to have been established beyond dispute is that in the Malay mind Ūjong Salāng as applied to Junkceylon cannot have in origin been meant for aught than:

1. either the territory of the island considered as a mere promontory of the Malay Peninsula;



2. or, the southern end of the island itself, provided this latter had been then already severed from the main, and its insular character was well known to the Malay navigators who first devised that designation.

Whether the aboriginal inhabitants of the island and neighbouring main considered it as an island or a peninsula is not known; in so far as local records go it is invariably referred to as an island, bearing the name of C'halāng or Thalāng.

p. 20, line 8.—after “therein,” add: “p. 7.”

p. 20, line 18.—“A. D. 1200.”—The date of foundation of Kedah may be said to be comprised between A. D. 1204 (when Tavoy came into existence) at the very earliest, following a Chinese clue; and A. D. 1350 at the very latest, should the list of its early rulers as given in the Kodah annals eventually prove to have been handed down in an unbroken series, which is by no means likely. I should think 1220 to be the nearest approach.

p. 24, immediately above the date “1677.”—While the present paper was being passed through the press, news reached this distant land of a new publication by the Hakluyt Society entitled “A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679, by Thomas Bowrey”; printed, for the first time, from a seventeenth century MS. It is stated to contain a valuable description of Junk-Ceylon under the name “*Janselone*,” and this section is said to be, according to the testimony of Sir Richard Temple, “a unique contribution to the history of an island about which there is hardly any record in the seventeenth century.” It having been impossible to procure the book in time for making use of it for the present paper, we must rest content with merely calling attention to its recent appearance, and with taking note of the new and valuable account of Junkceylon it contains, for future reference.

p. 24, l. 3. “see below”—add: p. 83.

p. 32, after line 2 add:—On p. 394 of the same work Hamilton tells of a youth who was an apprentice to an officer on board a ship, whose master went a-pirating. The youth “ran from them the first opportunity he met with, on the island of *Jonkceylan*, and informed the master of a sloop, which lay in a river there, that the pirates had a design on his sloop and cargo, and went armed, in company with the master, to hinder the approach of the pirates, and was the first that fired on them, yet that merciful man [Mr. Collet, the governor of Fort St. George, Madras] was inexorable, and the youth was hanged.”

p. 42, foot note, bottom line, "*Tang-ro*."—See p. 119 for the correct meaning.

p. 43, l. 22, "overseer."—See p. 120 for an improved rendering.

p. 46, after 2nd line.—I regret having here omitted, owing to an oversight discovered just after the sheet had been passed through the press, an interesting little chapter on foreign schemes upon Junkceylon at this juncture, through which the island came well nigh becoming a British possession. The chapter could be made still more interesting, had I access to volume IV of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* where the subject is treated at length and, it appears, the account of Junkceylon by Captain Light that will be found hereafter referred to, reproduced, which thus constitutes a new contribution to the descriptive literature of the island. As it is, I can only subjoin here a few stray notes and extracts made partly from vol. III of that *Journal*, but more especially from a "Memoir of Captain Francis Light" that appeared in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 28 (August, 1895).

#### BRITISH DESIGNS UPON JUNKCEYLON: 1780-1785.

When the British "had consolidated their power on the banks of the Ganges and on the plains of Southern India, the trade betwixt Hindostan, and the Nations and Islands to the Eastward of it, had assumed a new aspect, and had become almost identified with its prosperity. The Supreme Government of British India therefore lost no time in seeking out for an eligible position to the Eastward, on which to form a settlement." However, "a considerable degree of difficulty was felt in carrying the purpose into effect, owing to the general ignorance which then prevailed in India respecting the whole of the Indo-Chinese and Malayan countries.

"At this juncture Mr. James Scott, a navigating merchant,<sup>1</sup> offered his services, and they were accepted. But this gentleman, although better acquainted, perhaps, with the regions to the Eastward

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1. See above, pp. 35, 40, 53. We may now add to the biographical information already supplied on this shrewd merchant-Captain, that in 1787 he founded with his colleague Capt. Light as partner, the firm of Scott & Co. (afterwards Brown & Co.) which long held pre-eminence among the mercantile establishments on Pinang Island. He survived Capt. Light († 1794) and was one of the trustees of his estate until about 1810. He lies in old Penang cemetery, within a few yards of the tomb of his bosom friend, Capt. Light. In a Pinang report of 1796 he is described a "*perfect Malay*." See *Journal Ind. Arch*, V, p. 100.

than any of his contemporaries, was but slenderly versed in their political relations—so little so that he at first proposed that the Settlement should be made at the Island of Junkceylon—the *Salang* of the natives. But it was found that this over-estimated Island, formed a portion of the Siamese empire. It will be seen in the sequel that Captain Light committed a similar mistake with reference to Pinang.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the portion accessible to me of Colonel Low’s paper in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* that bears on the subject. Other writers ascribe to Capt. Light the original idea of settling Junkceylon, or rather both this and Pinang islands at one and the same time; but it seems reasonable to conclude that the plan was hatched by him in conjunction with his pal Captain Scott, though opinions vary.

Dennys says:—“The British Government of India had been long desirous of possessing a commercial emporium, but, above all, a naval station at the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, and the chief instrument it employed in carrying this object into effect was Francis Light, the master of a merchant vessel. The question of the formation of such a Settlement was, on the representation of this gentleman, first entertained and resolved upon under the administration of the able, active, and ambitious Warren Hastings, although not carried into effect until that of his immediate successor. Mr. Light had been in the habit of trading with the Siamese possessions on the Bay of Bengal, and with Kodah and other Malay States on the western side of the Peninsula. He first recommended, for the locality of the future Settlement, the larger island of Junkceylon—the *Salang* of the Malays—belonging to the Siamese, and finally, Penang, an almost uninhabited island belonging to Kodah, itself a tributary of Siam.” (“Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya,” p. 281).

A. M. S., Captain Light’s biographer in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, begins by telling us (No. 28, p. 1): “The first heard of Captain Light is in 1771, when he states he entered into correspondence with Warren Hastings as to the desirability of a repairing harbour in these waters, recommending Penang as a ‘convenient magazine for the Eastern trade.’ There was no doubt negotiation for many years after in the intervals of trading tours.”

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1. “An Account of the Origin and Progress of the British colonies in the Straits of Malacca, in *Journ. Indian Arch.*, vol. III, No. 10 (October, 1849), p. 600.

Then he proceeds ( p. 2 ) : “ In 1780-1, a scheme had at last been matured for settling Junkceylon, through private subscription but with consent of the Governor-General in Council ( then Warren Hastings ). There is in the British Museum a Paper which bears on this scheme, being a description of Junkceylon transmitted by Captain Light to Lord Cornwallis in his letter of 18th June 1787 ( See Logan’s Journal, Vol. IV ). The wars with the French and Dutch in 1781-3 delayed its execution, and shortly after Captain Light decided on the superior merits of Penang harbour. He was at first for settling at one and the same time in both places ; but when the friendly ruler of Junkceylon died in December, 1785,<sup>1</sup> it was finally resolved by the Governor-General to make the experiment at Penang alone, which the young Raja of Kedah had offered to cede for \$6,000 a year.”

Further on the writer, in passing some strictures upon Colonel Low’s treatment of the subject, makes some statements which are at one time quaint and interesting. He says ( p. 11 ) :

“ One thing is certain—that in writing his criticism in 1848, Colonel Low was ignorant of Captain Light’s despatch to Lord Cornwallis in 1787 ; and in consequence misrepresents the whole of the official negotiations respecting Salang and Penang, *as though these had turned upon ‘ whether the islands formed a portion of the Siamese Empire.’* The printing of this despatch in a later volume of Logan’s Journal at once made it clear that nothing of that kind came into the question ; its entire absence is in fact most noticeable.” [ *N. B.* The Italics are ours ].<sup>2</sup>

“ Captain Light explained fully the whole of the circumstances of his selecting these islands in the official letter mentioned above, dated 18th

1. This can hardly have been anyone else than Mom Sri P’hakdi who left the heroine Chan a widow just before the Burmese siege of Thalang in Dec. 1785-Jan. 1786 ( See pp. 43 and 59-60 above. ) An examination of Capt. Light’s papers may further clear this point.

2. No less strange on the Siamese side is the silence of the local annals about such land-grabbing schemes on the part of the British. But the most curious of it all is, that the only passage in any way connected with the question, bears the date of 1776 and refers to Captain Light as *Governor of Penang*, and this too fully a decade before actual occupation took place ! Here is the tit-bit in full : “ In the tenth month of that year [1776] the English Captain Light, Governor of Koh Māk ( Penang Island ) ( กบัตันเหล็ก อังฤษ เจ้าเมืองเกาะหมาก ), sent 1400 flint-locks and other presents for His Majesty the King ” ( Annals, vol. II, p. 620 ).

June, 1787 (published in Logan, Vol. IV. p. 634). This letter shows that in 1780 Warren Hastings' Council sanctioned 'in a public letter' Captain Light's 'plan for employing subscriptions', already actually raised for a Settlement on [ p. 12 ] Salang (Junkceylon); which was in course of being carried out when 'before the troops and ships were made ready, the war with France in 1781-2 led to its being neglected'.

"The letter adds how, at the conclusion of the war, Hastings took the matter up again. 'But for the death of a friendly Governor of Salang in December 1785,' Captain Light—who had however in the meanwhile been struck by the superior advantages of Penang 'as a barrier to the Dutch encroachments'—would, he says, 'have taken both islands.'

"In the end, Sir J. Macpherson, Hastings' successor, 'readily accepted Penang, *but declined taking Salang*' on the two grounds:—

(1)—that 'it required a greater force' to keep;

(2)—that 'as Government required a naval port with a port of commerce, Penang *is more favourable* than Salang.'—"

In conclusion, it will be seen that only the breaking out of war with France in 1781 prevented for the first time Junkceylon Island from becoming a British possession; the timely death of its governor in 1785 again preserved the island to the Siamese Crown for the second time; and, finally, the good judgment of the Governor-General of India spared it for the third time annexation under the British Flag, as a *pendant* to Penang in the approaches to the Straits. That status might have most likely saved it from the prolonged harassments it had to experience from the Burmese, but its history would be a far tamer and uneventful one and would register no such episodes as that of Lady Chan and her co-heroines.

*A-propos* of insular beauties, it is not unlikely that Martinha Rozells, Captain Light's *Nonyah* that played so important a rôle in local political intrigues and negotiations of the period, was a Junkceylonese. She is vaguely described as being from Siām (see the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1905, p. 118); but was, in A. M. S.' opinion, "apparently a Portuguese Christian of the Roman Catholic Mission at Kedah or Junkceylon" (see *Straits Asiat. Soc. Journal, fasc. cit.*, p. 13). The old story that used to be so much circulated about her being a Malay, a Princess of Kedah, and what not, is now generally discredited as rank gossip. Captain Light allied himself (as his will in 1794 shows) with her in 1772; and she survived him until about 1822. Considering the

dangers that are said to beset the unwary youth putting his foot on Junkceylon Island from the irresistible local beauties (see above, pp. 96-98), it is not unlikely that it was here that Captain Light was ensnared, and that the *Nonyah* belonged to that community of bewitching creatures. His frequent and protracted visits to the island, as well as the extensive relations he had there, tend to further strengthen that conjecture.

p. 55, n. 4, *Talapoin*.—The correct original form should be *Talapôï*, lit. 'Our (or, my) Lord.' Another possible and very likely prototype of the term may be *Toila-pon*, lit. 'Lord of Piety (or, Virtue)'; which expression, however, is only employed in connection with Head priests, or Abbots. *Thāpôï*, or *Th'pôï*, (and not *Kh'pôï*) is the usual term for a novice.

p. 80, l. 16—A. M. S., Captain Light's biographer, states that "the old Junkceylon Mission removed about that time [1772; the correct date must be a few years later] to Kedah, and in 1786 to Pulau Tikus village at Penang" (*Journ. Str. Br. R. A. S., fasc. cit.*, p. 13). Here an error in dates has evidently crept in, for the Roman Catholic Mission at Pulo Tikus (N. E. side of Penang Island) was not established until 1797, it being the first foundation of the kind in the Straits. (see Dennys, *op. cit.*, p. 240).

p. 89, l. 13—14 See correction in Appendix I, p. 124, note 1.

p. 90, l. 25—Nāi Mī also composed a *Nirās Sup'han*, นีราศัพพณ, which I have not seen, because though in print it has now grown very scarce.





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